

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

## The Monitor's view

### Spain's democratic milestone

Treading between rightists and leftists, King Juan Carlos of Spain is firmly and ably guiding his country toward a full-fledged Western democracy. One year after the passing of Franco and the end of his iron dictatorship, a new mood and spirit prevail in Spain. It is captured in the first article of a new reform bill calling for the first democratically elected legislature in four decades:

"Democracy in the Spanish state is based in the supremacy of the law and the sovereign will of the people."

It will take more than words, of course, to fulfill that statement. But the outlook is promising. Even the largely rightist Cortes, the Parliament bequeathed by Franco, voted itself out of existence and approved general elections for next year. Under the reform bill, which must still be approved by popular referendum in December, the elections will bring into being a new two-chamber Parliament with powers to alter Spain's Franco-era laws.

No one underestimates the difficulties ahead, however. Although the King and the Prime Minister won over the conservative rightists, the ultra right would like to slow the pace of democratization. The danger is that it would react strongly if, for instance, the Span-

ish Communist Party were legalized.

Spain's leftists, for their part, who have yet to fully recover from the repressive years under Franco, threaten to boycott the upcoming referendum if certain conditions are not met. They urge immediate legalization of labor groups as well as the Communist Party, total amnesty for convicted terrorists, and dismantling of public-order courts and anti-terrorism laws.

Compounding the uncertainties is the threat of political violence among the Catalans or the Basques, although the danger of separation has perhaps been exaggerated. Likewise of concern is the deterioration of the Spanish economy, beset these days by worker unrest, inflation, and declining investment.

Nonetheless, polls show that almost 70 percent of the Spanish people support the government's reforms. If Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez, who so skillfully steered the reform legislation through the Cortes, can continue to mobilize the moderate center, and if the Army and security forces can be held together, the chances appear good that Spain before too long will have a functioning democracy.

After only one year without Franco, that is something to cheer about.

Monday, November 28, 1976

"All packed, but where's he going?"



The Christian Science Monitor

### Changing position on Angola

In June, the U.S. turned a solitary thumbs-down on Angola's application for United Nations membership, on grounds that it couldn't really be independent and in control of its own affairs with all those Cuban troops on the scene.

Yet this week when the Angolan bid for membership came up again, Washington's men at UN were willing to take a more tolerant view. They were ready to abstain where once they vetoed, thereby allowing Angola's entry. The fact that most of the Cuban soldiers are still there, and that civil war still rages in portions of Angola, obviously did not weigh so heavily this time.

It is not difficult to discern what caused the difference in the U.S. attitude. Since the June veto, Secretary of State Kissinger has made his diplomatic bid to bring about a racial settlement in southern Africa. At the moment, the Geneva conference on Rhodesia, which he helped arrange, is hanging in the balance. So this is no time for the U.S. to be alienating black African nations. To do so would not only undercut American standing with the third-

world states now but conceivably could handicap the incoming Carter administration in its future plans as well. Moreover, the white nations involved in a southern Africa settlement — the U.S., Britain, Rhodesia, and South Africa — could find support from the present Angolan government helpful in their negotiations.

But an American abstention on Angola does seem inconsistent with its recent veto of Vietnam UN membership. In that instance, the U.S. justified its rejection on grounds of lack of information about many missing Americans. That in itself was a shift from an earlier stand linking South Vietnamese membership with South Korea's similar bid. Now in the case of Angola, Washington has moved a step toward the principle of universality of UN membership, but not all the way.

Indeed, as matters now stand, political considerations have taken precedence on both Angola and Vietnam, favoring the entry of one, denying it to another. There are good reasons for this pragmatic approach to membership bids, but it leaves friends and adversaries alike uncertain where the U.S. will stand next time around.

### Righting a wrong at UNESCO

UNESCO has done the right thing in voting to restore Israel to full membership in the organization. The United Nations agency thereby reversed one of the controversial decisions taken at its 1974 conference — an action which sought to isolate Israel by keeping it out of UNESCO's European regional group, where most of Israel's activity normally would occur. That move sparked protests from the United States and other Western nations.

With this obstacle removed, it now should be possible for the U.S. to resume its financial support of the educational and cultural organization, which amounts to 25 percent of the total UNESCO budget. Since this funding was cut off, about \$40 million in American contributions has been withheld.

Even so, warning signals still are flying for the Israelis because of the vote against them for their policy in the occupied territories. Only five countries, including Israel and the United States, opposed the censure resolution, while 28, including many West European nations, abstained.

The Arab and Soviet-bloc states, however, passed a condemnation of Israel's educational and cultural policies in the Arab territories captured during the 1967 war. This was the price they exacted for agreeing to Israel's in-

### Malraux: art and action

Since the April, 1974, coup which turned out its right-wing government, Portugal has faced a series of political and economic crises at home, in addition to withdrawing from its big African territories of Mozambique and Angola. It therefore is welcome news for the Socialist government of Prime Minister Mário Soares that the United States is about to provide \$300 million in an emergency loan.

This American "help" testifies both to the serious domestic situation in Portugal and to Washington's desire to keep its strong anti-Communist such as Mr. Soares at the helm in Lisbon. And the aid will be extended, if present Ford administration plans are carried out, at a time when Portugal's financial resources have reached a low ebb, due to heavy borrowing.

Mr. Soares meanwhile has his hands full trying to keep the Communist Party under control. This is especially apparent in his effort to break the present Communist influence in the trade union movement. Politically, the Communists have suffered a number of recent setbacks, losing leverage with the military forces, the farmers, and small landowners. But, as Communist chief Álvaro Cunhal warned last week at the party congress, the working masses of Portugal still have many legitimate

weapons to use if their interests are threatened. He cited wage demands, demonstrations, and strikes as ways in which their power could be displayed. So Mr. Soares obviously will need all the outside assistance he can muster to meet such looming threats.

Fortunately for him, there are signs that long-term U.S. aid may rise as high as \$800 million. A consortium that includes West Germany, France, and several others as well as the United States, is considering raising \$1.5 billion to pull Portugal through its current difficulties. Mr. Soares now faces the need to institute promised austerity measures to get Portugal on its feet, as well as to carry out much-needed political reforms in the country. These entail major risks for the Prime Minister, who has been in office only 3 months. So the road ahead will not be easy.

According to recent findings, Malraux had visited the revolutionary China of the '20s in time for the events he described with what has long been regarded as eyewitness vividness in perhaps his most famous novel, "Man's Fate." (Forty years before Watergate, "Tape gaps," it described a code contrived by the Western powers to cover up their own mistakes.)

Malraux never got as much money as he wanted. But he did set up a number of the "maisons de culture" (regional cultural centers) that were varyingly successful — and that he saw as the major legacy of his ministry. Another debt art owes to Malraux's action.

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WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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60¢ U.S.



St. Basil's in Red Square  
By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Traditional Moscow: background to a carefully orchestrated jumble of signals

### At stake at Rhodesian conference:

### What color hands on the reins?

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The Geneva conference on Rhodesia has at last taken up what it was primarily convened to discuss: the makeup of the multiracial government which will preside over the transfer of political power from whites to blacks in the territory.

Mutual suspicions and wrangling over an agreed date for legal independence for Zimbabwe (as Africans call Rhodesia) under a black majority govern-

ment have delayed for five weeks the getting down to the meat of the conference. (It opened Oct. 28.) But British chairman Ivor Richard was able to convene Dec. 1 a restricted meeting of black and white Rhodesian delegations to begin discussion on how the interim government should be made up.

According to the white Rhodesians, U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger agreed with white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith last September that the interim prime minister should be black; his cabinet should be multiracial; and the key ministries of

defense and of law and order should be in white hands.

This last provision is unacceptable to the black Rhodesian delegations. The defense and law and order ministries are the ones which in African eyes reinforce the image of the white Rhodesians, minority as "oppressors." But from the white point of view, unless these two ministries remain in white hands, discipline in the white-officered and white-run security and police forces will collapse and near-anarchy will result during the transition period.

\*Please turn to Page 24

### Southern Lebanon: suspicions and answers

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

What is really happening in southern Lebanon?

Are the reports (from Beirut and elsewhere) correct that the U.S. as middleman is working out some compromise agreement between Syria and Israel for the policing of the area immediately north of the Israeli border into which no Syrian peace-keeping forces have yet moved?

Or is the report from Israel correct that no agreement has been worked out with Syria for policing southern Lebanon?

The answer is: The U.S. is interested in the kind of compromise it considers feasible and simultaneously safe for Israel; this interest has so far expressed itself in ensuring that the parties involved are analyzing the situation accurately and are aware of what is (and what is not) feasible; the Israeli Government will probably acquiesce in a compromise in the end; but the Israelis remain much more-and-a-half-hard-line military hero, Gen. Ariel Sharon.

The other reason for Mr. Sharon's wanting to be seen as a tough bargainer is the challenge to his leadership, both from within his own Labor Party (notably from Defense Minister Shimon Peres) and from without it (notably from a hard-line military hero, Gen. Ariel Sharon).

And quite apart from these personal challenges, Mr. Sharon's Labor Party faces a general election before the end of 1977.

The interest of the U.S. in an acceptable compromise for southern Lebanon was again suggested by the meeting the American charge d'affaires in Beirut, George Laas, had with Lebanese President Sálik Nov. 29. It was his second meeting with Mr. Sálik in four days. These consultations also bespeak the U.S. interest in reinforcing Mr. Sálik as the constitutionally elected head of state and supreme authority in a united Lebanon — but a Lebanon in which the wounds of the civil war still need to be healed.

The Beirut newspaper Al-Nahar suggests that one possible solution for southern Lebanon would be to have not Syrian but Sudanese and United Arab Emirates contingents of the Arab League peace-keeping force in Lebanon move into the sensitive area beyond the Litani River. But this suggestion immediately raises the question of whether any non-Syrian units in the peace-keeping force would be as willing or able as the Syrians to deal sternly with those Palestinian raiders into Israel from southern Lebanon.

As for eventual Israeli acceptance of Al-Nahar's or any other compromise proposal for a general election before the end of 1977.

\*Please turn to Page 24



# Europe

## Spain: war of words rages over referendum

By Joe Gandalman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid  
The campaign for Spain's referendum on constitutional reforms has begun with bang on several fronts.

The reforms provide for a new two-house parliament, elections for which would take place next spring. Voting in the referendum is set for Dec. 15.

Amid fierce propaganda onslaughts from both sides, unguarded comments by some government ministers have threatened a new opposition-government "cold war."

Warning salvoes came when Interior Minister Martin Villa said the government had "an obligation to complete the process of reform" and would act as "boldly" toward the opposition's "illicit" campaign for abstention in the referendum as it did toward rightist foes of the reforms in the outgoing Cortes (parliament). Abstention, he added, would contradict "civic duty."

Another official declared that "to go against reform is to go against the will of the crown and government." One ministry leaked reports saying abstention would violate an Aug. 8, 1967, law that General Franco applied during his 1947 and 1966 referenda.

The liberated Spanish press then angrily

charged the government was calling abstainers "traitors."

"It has to be said very clearly that the government [of Premier Adolfo Suárez] is not the best to define what is democracy and what is not," harumphed the Madrid daily *El País*. "The government threatens to fall into Francoist temptations inherent in its origins — the manipulation of a referendum which should be its first public act of purity and democratic credibility."

All this dropped like a bombshell on the moderate opposition which is struggling to detach itself from the more absolutist, left-wing parties.

Then Mr. Villa moved to tone down his controversial statement. He explained that "abstention is legal but I do not believe in it."

As a further olive branch the government bowed to international pressures by authorizing the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) to hold its congress here Dec. 5-7. The congress will be attended by Socialist leaders from other countries and will be the first such meeting in Spain in 40 years.

The opposition responded this past weekend by listing seven conditions for a "legitimate" referendum and parliamentary elections — among them total amnesty, lifting the ban on the Communist Party, and dismantling the apparatus of Franco's National Movement. However, the statement was relatively subdued in tone.



Anatolian farm By Steve

Mechanization is spreading but has not touched every Turkish farm

## Turkey's bumper crops help in year of trouble

By Ralph Shaffer  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

North-South conference to be postponed until February or March. The Associated Press quoted U.S. officials in Washington as agreeing.

### Prior postponement?

Before this consensus for postponement had begun to show itself, the Middle East Economic Survey, the authoritative weekly, had reported that OPEC was moving toward a postponement of its own meeting from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20 to give its members an opportunity to see what happened at the North-South meeting. The Survey said: "The reshuffling of dates is a reflection of the intricate poker game now being played between the industrialized nations and the OPEC-third world grouping, neither of which wants to show its cards until it has seen the other's hand."

Most of the EC members — particularly Britain, Ireland, and Italy — have grim economic problems of their own, and these would be worsened significantly by any increase in the price of oil. French President Giscard d'Estaing was reported to have asked his fellow heads of government at The Hague to put a ceiling on their oil imports.

The European summit is but one of three high-level conferences whose decisions are somehow intertwined with the change of administration in Washington. The two others are: the North-South conference (between rich industrial and poor developing countries), due to open in Paris Dec. 15, and the gathering of world oil-producing countries (OPEC) due in Qatar Dec. 15, from which is expected an announcement on increased world oil prices.

## Aid rushed to homeless Turks

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul  
Turkey's bumper crops and a severe winter have combined with bitter wintry weather to hamper the distribution of relief supplies.

The United States has made 25 cargo planes available from the NATO base at Incirlik to fly in supplies from NATO countries. The Turkish Government has mobilized civilian services and troops for the rescue operations.

Turkey's underdeveloped eastern region is frequently shaken by earthquakes. The poor quality of the houses in the quake zone and the remoteness of the villages make the area particularly vulnerable in human terms. Yet no Turkish government has ever taken effective measures to cope with this continuing problem.

Turkey's telecommunications and newspapers have complained time and again that no sort of lack of planning and faulty organization and coordination, there have been delays in recovering bodies and rescuing injured people as well as in distributing relief supplies every time a severe quake has struck the area.

Moreover, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the towns and villages in the areas left in ruins by the quakes. Most of the housing in the villages are mud

Some newspapers say many lives would have been saved in the latest quake if the government had built proper housing in the area. Officials in Ankara put the number

of killed at more than 1,000. They seemed to be general acceptance that the

# Europe

## The long search for peace in Ulster

### Dublin fears Britain will leave

By Jonathan Harsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin  
The government of the Republic of Ireland is deeply concerned about the growing campaign for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

It is worried that influential British politicians might join backbenchers in demanding when the problem of Northern Ireland is debated in the British Parliament in two weeks time.

In her speech from the throne opening the new session of Parliament Nov. 24, Queen Elizabeth spoke of the importance of Anglo-Irish cooperation in dealing with Northern Ireland. The Irish government hopes this cooperation will extend to careful handling of the parliamentary debate.

Everyone, including the British, could safely withdraw, Dr. O'Brien said. But to demand commitment to withdraw when these conditions had not been created was to play politics with the lives of people not only in Northern Ireland but in the Republic of Ireland as well.

Unconditional British withdrawal from Northern Ireland was first sought by the illegal Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA).

Some extreme Northern Irish Protestants now want Britain out, convinced they can defeat the IRA terrorists once Britain's restraining hand is withdrawn.

Some middle-of-the-road academics, economists, and minor politicians in the North also support withdrawal. They argue that Britain is sinking economically and politically and that Northern Ireland should not be dragged down with it.

To counter this the Dublin government is

hammering home the message that any reduction in the British presence in the North would harm Ireland as a whole.

Irish Cabinet Minister Conor Cruise O'Brien said recently that a British commitment to withdrawal would mean opening the door that could lead to full-scale civil war in the island and to death and destruction on the scale of Lebanon.

Everyone, including the British, could safely withdraw, Dr. O'Brien said. But to demand commitment to withdraw when these conditions had not been created was to play politics with the lives of people not only in Northern Ireland but in the Republic of Ireland as well.

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### Local peace group springs up

By Jonathan Harsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin  
After the fireworks of their launch phase, the Peace People of Northern Ireland are moving into a relatively quiet orbit. But the days ahead are seen as extremely challenging for them.

The Peace People must continue their work as long as any member of the human family is causing or enduring injustice. And Northern Ireland's grass-roots campaign against terrorism must inspire, by word and example, an extraordinary courage at individual and community level."

So says Ciaran McKeown, the young Belfast journalist who founded the peace drive early last August along with Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan.

Some disappointment followed the peace rally held in London's Trafalgar Square Nov. 27.

Attendance was half the anticipated figure,

and less than half the number who turned up for the movement's largest rally in Belfast Aug. 28.

The London rally also gave groups supporting the illegal Irish Republican Army and demanding British withdrawal from Northern Ireland the opportunity to stage a noisy counter-demonstration.

Peace marches will continue. But from now on the focus will be on the scores of local peace groups springing up in communities throughout Ireland.

At best the rallies are a confidence boost and at worst a delusion about the peace movement's potential. The local groups, however, will provide a yardstick of the movement's success in tangible terms. And success will depend on the local groups examining local needs closely.

In the town of Strabane, for instance, unemployment is traditionally 30 percent, and in some families several generations have never had a job. So the local peace group is determined to promote jobs and hopes to start a glassmaking industry in the new year.

Other peace groups are concentrating on fighting vandalism, re-equipping schools, or raising funds.

Another plan is to twin Northern Ireland with some other area of suffering. In helping another part of the world, says Mr. McKeown, the Peace People "will be putting our own puny squabble into the realistic perspective of the extent of human misery in our time."

Mr. McKeown writes of the lessons learned so far: "Fear is the No. 1 enemy of peace, both at individual and community level. Fear not only makes dialogue and friendship impossible, but it makes decent people susceptible to the suggestions of prejudice, which in other circumstances they would utterly reject."

As the movement of the Peace People continues, we will also have great joy, for we already have a peace in our hearts that no terror or grief or other affliction can ever again destroy, but merely reinforce."

## Brezhnev challenges Carter: end freeze

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

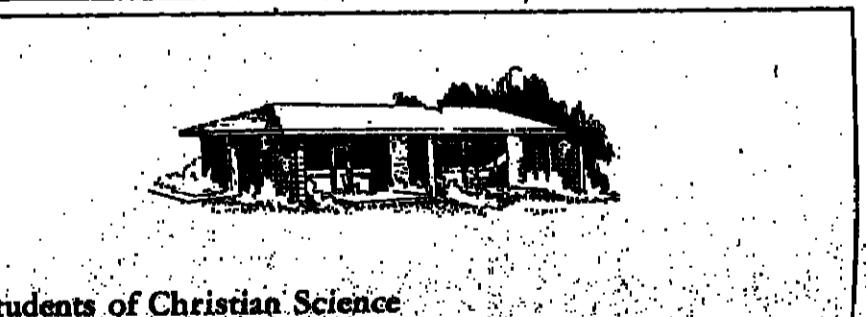
The Soviet Union, trying to seize the diplomatic initiative, has challenged U.S. President-Elect Jimmy Carter to move ahead quickly with strategic arms talks and disarmament on a wide front.

Moving swiftly to define how he wants détente to continue even before Mr. Carter takes office, Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev has issued his strongest call yet to the President-Elect.

In a blunt speech at a dinner for visiting Treasury Secretary William E. Simon Nov. 30, Mr. Brezhnev restated a list of Soviet disarmament proposals and called for an end to what he called the "freeze imposed by Washington almost a year ago" on strategic arms talks.

He gave no indication, however, of Moscow's willingness to compromise on the issue of limitations on the Backfire bomber or the U.S. cruise missile.

Mr. Brezhnev's remarks reflected a clear concern at anti-Soviet statements made during the U.S. presidential campaign. While he did not mention either candidate by name, he dismissed as "rubbish" campaign talk of dealing with Moscow "from a position of strength" and of Moscow's preparing for a first nuclear strike.



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# Asia

## Chairman Hua: another Mao in our midst?

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

It is barely seven months since Hua Kuo-feng emerged from relative obscurity to become the No. 1 figure in China, and already he is being portrayed as a model of virtue worthy of being the successor to Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese press is picturing Mr. Hua as selfless, straightforward, far-sighted — an experienced revolutionary leader with a thorough knowledge of Marxist theory and practice. But in line with cultural tradition, it also emphasizes that he holds his authority because of his personal virtue — which other citizens would do well to emulate — and because of his commitment to the welfare of the people.

The transformation of Mr. Hua's image from that of a loyal follower of the late Chairman Mao to a man worthy of leadership in his own right is being accomplished with a series of well-publicized testimonial said to come from teachers, students, peasants, and workers who have observed Mr. Hua's work and character since he began as a local Communist Party administrator.

### Emphasis shifts

Although Mr. Hua is still praised as a loyal follower of Chairman Mao, the emphasis has gradually shifted. Now Chairman Mao is being commended for having the wisdom to recognize Mr. Hua's abilities.

And whereas Mr. Hua was widely quoted not long ago for re-emphasizing the revered thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, he now finds his own quotations enshrined as guides to action. His exhortation to "be meticulous in organization and direction" (following the Nov. 17 Chinese hydrogen bomb test) gradually has come to represent his emphasis on careful administration, economic progress, and selective use of foreign technology to make the country modern and strong.

Chinese readers also have been told for the first time something of Mr. Hua's family, the existence of which had been generally unknown. Two weeks ago the Peking People's Daily revealed that Mr. Hua has a wife, at least one daughter, named Hsiao Li, and several other children, although their names and the name of his wife were not included in the report.

### Country first

The revelation that Hsiao Li attended No. 168 Middle School (high school) in Peking also served to demonstrate that her father has long put the interests of his country before those of his family. Mr. Hua sent his daughter to work in the countryside after her 1974 graduation, the newspaper said, because Chairman Mao had declared, "the countryside needs educated young people, and educated young people need to go to the countryside in order to temper themselves."

Earlier, when Mr. Hua visited the school, he was said to have left "an unforgettable impression" on the students and teachers after standing up and talking "with heart-warming kindness" while his "firm tone and ringing voice" resounded in the auditorium.

### Soviets zero in on black market furs

Moscow  
Foxy speculators in Siberia are foiling the Soviet authorities out of thousands of rubles a year.

Private breeders of Arctic foxes are using eggs and furs from state shops to fatten up their animals, then selling their pelts on the black market, the newspaper said.

In one small district of western Siberia private breeders last year made 100,000 rubles (\$11,000) each, profit according to the district financial authorities.



Soviet troops patrolling border with China — behind them are 40 divisions, Peking complains

## Wary Peking awaits Soviet border talks

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hong Kong

The latest Soviet overture to warm relations with China is expected to reopen border talks for the first time in 18 months.

Indeed, a Soviet delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister and veteran border talks negotiator Leonid F. Ilyichev recently arrived in Peking to an apparently cordial welcome.

But the Chinese negotiators will be looking less for general statements of friendship from the talks, and more for concrete answers to at least three specific questions.

They are:

• Whether the Soviets are willing to begin a reduction of the force of 40 divisions that they station along the northern Chinese border. The border was defined by protocol agreements in the 1860 Treaty of Peking. But the Chinese demands this as an "unequal treaty" and one imposed by force. In late 1974 the Soviets indicated they might go at least part way toward the Chinese position, which argues that principles of international law governing "frontiers" should be used to solve the Ussuri River issue. (Under this rule the boundary would run along the mainstream or centerline of the river rather than along river banks, as in the 1860 treaty.)

• Is the Soviet Union willing to tone down its policy of what the Chinese see as "encirclement" through naval and political expansion South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific?

Although the commentary was largely devoted to alleged Soviet military expansionism in Europe, it pointedly added, "it is known by all that the Soviet Union has never reduced its forces by a single man or rifle."

• What method should be used to settle the status of disputed segments of the border?

Prior to 1974, the Soviets insisted that the border was defined by protocol agreements in the 1860 Treaty of Peking. But the Chinese denounced this as an "unequal treaty" and one imposed by force. In late 1974 the Soviets indicated they might go at least part way toward the Chinese position, which argues that principles of international law governing "frontiers" should be used to solve the Ussuri River issue. (Under this rule the boundary would run along the mainstream or centerline of the river rather than along river banks, as in the 1860 treaty.)

That visit sparked speculation that the Soviet Union was "flirting" with the Chinese nationalist Government either to seek an Asian ally or to make the Communist Chinese Government more cooperative by (in effect) threatening to support Gen. Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan.

If Mr. Louis does visit Taiwan the Soviet Union could again be seen by Peking as threatening to intervene in the still-unfinished Chinese civil war.

Such conclusions are bound to fuel the fact that Premier Chiang Ching-kuo of Taiwan studied in the Soviet Union in the 1930s and has a Russian wife. The possibility that he might turn to the Soviet Union to compensate for declining American support has long intrigued diplomats. But a number of experts argue that it is unlikely that Premier Chiang will become closely involved with the Soviet Union because doing so would risk inviting the Chinese Government in Peking to step up efforts to overthrow him.

Although the release of children from homes of the state Department of Probation and Child Care Service already had been stopped, the official continued, private individuals and organizations were continuing to send children abroad.

Most foster parents seeking Sri Lanka children for adoption have been from the Scandinavian countries. And while the social services official here did not deny that many of these children were being sent to the United States, he

admitted that the number of children sent to the United States had dropped sharply in recent months.

Earlier, when Mr. Hua visited the school, he was said to have left "an unforgettable impression" on the students and teachers after standing up and talking "with heart-warming kindness" while his "firm tone and ringing voice" resounded in the auditorium.

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YUGOSLAVIA

1 Meeting under the auspices of the University of Baghdad, academics and intellectuals from 46 countries have examined and discussed Zionism, its origins, theory and practice, in the light of the UN General Assembly resolution 379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975. The Resolution was adopted on the basis of the International Convention of Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which constitutes an international legal document and contains an explicit definition of racism.

2

Recalling that in that resolution the General Assembly determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" the participants of the Symposium expressed the view that this resolution reflected the world's growing awareness of the true nature of Zionism and of the danger it represented to the peoples of the area and to world peace.

3

Recalling that when the General Assembly in November 1947 recommended the partition of Palestine, the United Nations consisted of only 50 member states, the Symposium noted that the resolution of November 1975 equating Zionism with racism had been adopted when membership of the United Nations had become more genuinely representative of the opinion of the world as a whole.

4

Zionism as a colonial-settler concept was an offshoot of 19th century imperialism. At the same time it reflected the prevalent trend of expansionist nationalism and the mistaken view that the solution of anti-Semitism lay in the self-segregation of Jews in a society from which non-Jews were to be excluded. Recognizing that persecution of Jews was an important factor in the growth of Zionism, the participants in this Symposium unequivocally condemn anti-Semitism and pledge themselves to oppose it, like any other form of racism, wherever it may exist.

5

In inviting the immigration of all the Jews of the world, Zionism shows itself in its essence to be expansionist. By pursuing this aim, it condemns the Jews to a perpetual war for "living space" at the expense of the peoples of the Middle East.

Because of the necessity for territorial expansion which it involves, Zionism has not succeeded, and by its very nature cannot succeed, in satisfying the legitimate aspiration of persecuted Jews to attain security. Moreover by calling on all Jews to come to Palestine, it pursues the very goal which the most hateful of anti-Semites have set themselves: to confine all Jews in a world ghetto. It is as defenders of progress, peace and humanism that we denounce this attack on human unity.

6

Supported by the imperialist powers, Zionism has itself used to extend its influence and promote the interests of imperialism in the Arab homeland and in the Third World.

7

Zionism is the obstacle to peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian struggle to establish in place a secular progressive Palestinian society, all of whose citizens enjoy equal rights, irrespective of religion, colour or ethnic origin, deserves the active support of free peoples throughout the world. We particularly invite the cooperation of anti-Zionist Jews and hope for better understanding from citizens of Western countries in the struggle to combat Zionism.

8

We commend the measures taken by those Arab governments which have invited Arab Jews to return to their countries of origin. On the other hand we express our apprehension over continuing Zionist efforts to stimulate Jewish immigration to Palestine, which we believe will only increase the tension in the area and so threaten world peace.

9

We express our deepest sympathy with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' suffering from the agonizing effects of a brutal civil war aimed at their peace, unity, progress, and the independence of Lebanon.

10

We express our support for the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese national movement, which constitute an integral part of the struggle for Palestine, in their struggle against separatism, sectarianism, and the propagation of the Zionist model in Lebanon.

11

Zionism is the obstacle to peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian struggle to establish in place a secular progressive Palestinian society, all of whose citizens enjoy equal rights, irrespective of religion, colour or ethnic origin, deserves the active support of free peoples throughout the world. We particularly invite the cooperation of anti-Zionist Jews and hope for better understanding from citizens of Western countries in the struggle to combat Zionism.

12

Zionism's cooperation with other racist regimes, as evidenced by its close relationships with Rhodesia and South Africa, is a natural outcome of its roots and developments, for it has always drawn its support and sustenance from imperialism and settler-colonial regimes.

13

Supported by the imperialist powers, Zionism has itself used to extend its influence and promote the interests of imperialism in the Arab homeland and in the Third World.

14

By their steadfastness in maintaining the struggle for their rights by all means, including armed resistance, the Palestinians have helped to promote a proper understanding of the essentially racist character of the theory and practice of Zionism. The struggle of the Palestinian Arabs, which has been supported by popular forces in the Arab world and by other national liberation movements in the world, at large, has demonstrated that we defend progress, peace and humanism that we denounce this attack on human unity.

UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD, IRAQ



# South Africa

## 'We cannot accept apartheid' 16-year-old girl tells judge

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town  
An intense 16-year-old Cape Town schoolgirl has delivered a stunning indictment of South African race policies, face to face with a judge of the South African Supreme Court.

She told him that young blacks will no longer tolerate the social system of apartheid or separate development of the races. It "has become an insult to our human dignity," and "our whole being rebels against the whole South African existence," she said.

"The system of apartheid does not allow us to grow to full womanhood or manhood. It is reducing us to intellectual cripples."

The girl is Miriam Gafoor, and she was giving evidence before the government commission investigating the causes of the recent unrest in cities almost everywhere in South Africa.

### Most refuse

The judge who is taking evidence is Justice P. M. Cillie, the judge president of the Transvaal Province Supreme Court.

Many blacks have refused to give evidence to the commission because they refuse to have anything more to do with any aspect of the "South African system." Others have refused because they say they fear reprisals from the police.

Miss Gafoor declined to give her evidence anonymously — as other black witnesses have done — and her guardian agreed that newspapers could publish her name.

She said, "I am a student at Salt River High School, facing charges of public violence and arson. I was suspended from my school with seven other students. I am 10 years old and I have been locked up, refused food, and interrogated. . . . Our teacher, whose only crime has been to protect us on our march to town, has been detained. What for, none of us know.

"It is a pity that the regime cannot see that the cause for the present unrest is the whole policy and implementation of apartheid."

### Heritage rejected

"When we were born we found our fathers struggling under the yoke of oppression. We found our social, economic, and political situation was neither our fathers' nor our own making.

"We, the youth of South Africa, reject the subservient heritage that has been handed down to us."

"We came, we saw; we acted and reacted to the whole system of oppression and discriminatory laws. We cannot accept, as our fathers did, the whole system of apartheid."

Miss Gafoor also challenged the figures given by the police on the number of people killed in the unrest. According to the police, 178 people died in Soweto and 82 in Cape Town. Miss Gafoor said she had "a different death toll to the official list."

She said that people soon realized that it was difficult to obtain bodies from the police unless they were prepared to sign a form stating that the dead person had taken part in the rioting. So they simply removed their dead, instead of "allowing them to lie at police stations."

The judge questioned her further about this. He said that it was known that, in other areas,



African township near Durban

### Young blacks begin to speak out

people who were killed or injured "during the riots" were sometimes removed by students and demonstrators. "Did this happen here?"

Miss Gafoor: Yes.

Justice Cillie: What happened to the bodies?

Miss Gafoor: They were taken away and buried.

Justice Cillie: You can't just go and bury the body of a dead person — it is against the law and there are many rules and regulations relating to this.

Miss Gafoor: It is against the law, but people have done it.

## How 'Dr. No' got his name

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town  
A row has broken out within South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party between those who want a new deal for the country and hard-line defenders of the policy of apartheid — separate development of the races.

On the side of the "new dealers" are Afrikaans intellectuals, Afrikaans newspaper editors, and a handful of Cabinet ministers.

On the other side is a group of arch conservatives headed by a dour deputy Cabinet Minister known throughout the country as "Dr. No" because he refuses to budge from the orthodox line on apartheid.

Prime Minister John Vorster tried to bring peace to the warring factions. But he only succeeded in talked himself into a corner. In the end, to his own discredit, to the consternation of his party's more progressive wing, and to the considerable delight of his political enemies, he was forced to back the wily Dr. No.

Dr. No is Dr. Andries Pretorius Treurnicht, who is in the classic mold of old-time Afrikaan political leaders.

Most embarrassing for Mr. Vorster was his own statement supporting Dr. Treurnicht as he was supported then by two fanatical Afrikaners who lead the bitterly racist Herrenvolk National Party, Dr. Albert Hertzog, the renegade former Cabinet minister, and his deputy, Jaap Marais.

In an attempt to hush the uproar, the Minister Vorster issued a terse statement saying that he was "not aware that Treurnicht has said anything which does not conform to the policy of the National Party."

Most embarrassing for Mr. Vorster was his own statement supporting Dr. Treurnicht as he was supported then by two fanatical Afrikaners who lead the bitterly racist Herrenvolk National Party, Dr. Albert Hertzog, the renegade former Cabinet minister, and his deputy, Jaap Marais.

He has close connections with the highly influential and exclusive Afrikaans secret society "the Broederbond" (the "band of brothers"), which can make or break political careers in South Africa.

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MONITOR readers respond!

## Will U.S. be satisfied?

## UNESCO softens its anti-Israel stand

By David Anable

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

UNESCO has ended its five-week General Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in an atmosphere of modest euphoria.

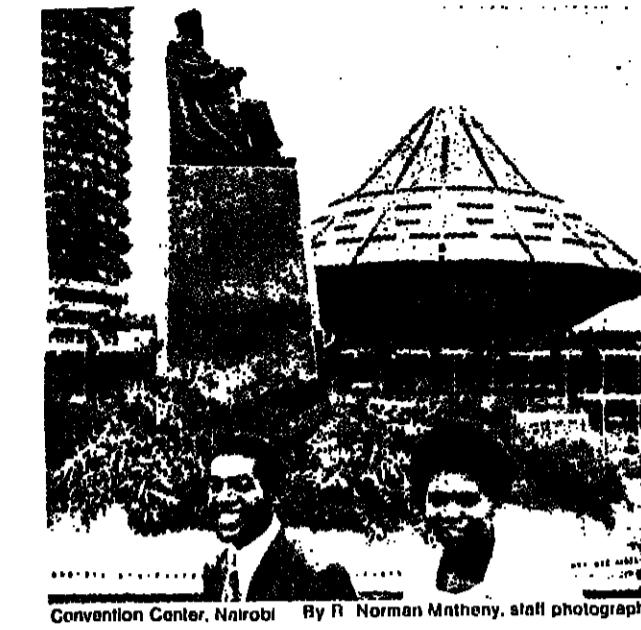
But it is not yet clear whether the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has pulled back far enough from its controversial 1974 decisions to regain United States support and avoid financial crisis.

When the U.S. Congress cut off American contributions to UNESCO two years ago, it ordered that this continue "until the president certifies that the organization has taken concrete steps to correct its recent decisions of a political character."

From this viewpoint, the Nairobi conference "corrected" one of the three Israel-related decisions considered so offensive in 1974. Israel now has been allowed into UNESCO's "European" group. It was the only country not to be voted into one of the five regional groups two years ago.

But the conference reaffirmed the other two controversial decisions from 1974.

An overwhelming majority reimposed UNESCO sanctions on Israel in retaliation for that country's continuing excavations



Convention Center, Nairobi By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

UNESCO conference ends

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# Middle East

## Oil keeps Mideast on the boil

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens  
As oil-producing states approach crucial decisions affecting 70 percent of the West's oil supplies, political and military storm signals are flashing from the Persian Gulf and Arabian peninsula.

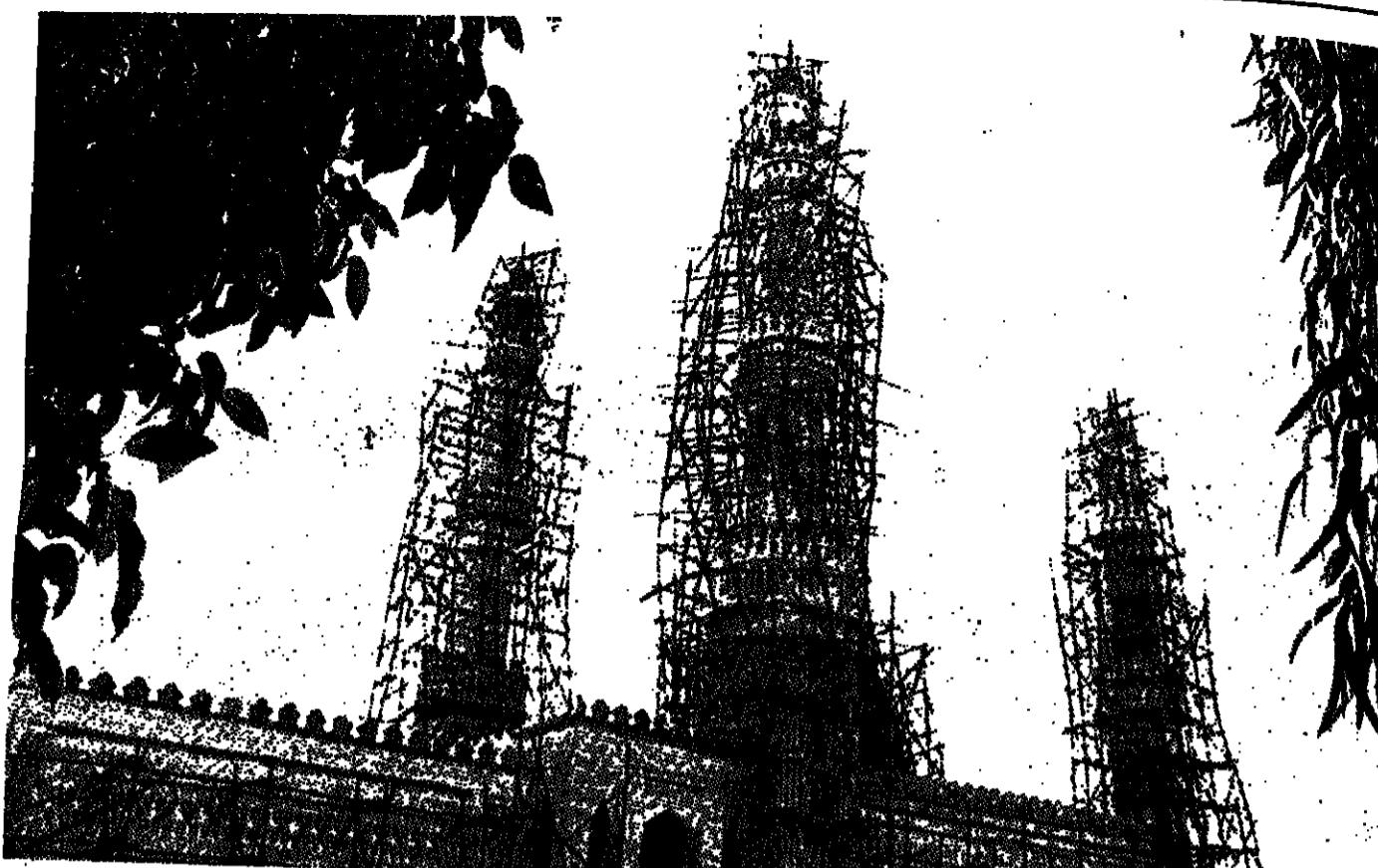
Oil ministers are scheduled to meet at Doha, in the Gulf Emirate of Qatar, Dec. 20, to determine whether and how much to raise oil prices. In addition, many sources report that Saudi Arabia is putting finishing touches on its long-planned, toughly negotiated take-over of the remaining assets of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), now controlling nearly a third of oil imports to the United States.

Following rapidly behind Saudi Arabia will likely be action by Kuwait. That wealthy state is already talking with the British Petroleum and Gulf Oil about acquiring their remaining 40 percent share in Kuwait's national oil company. This is expected to be closely coordinated with the Saudis, since the Saudi Government is a shareholder in the Arabian oil company that operates in the diamond-shaped neutral zone between the two countries.

Against this backdrop of economic change, several events have signaled new political turbulence in Arabia:

• North Yemen, whose conservative government is closely allied to Saudi Arabia and has been promised U.S. military help, said Nov. 27 its anti-aircraft defenses fired on "enemy" aircraft spying in the interests of Israel. The aircraft had violated Saudi airspace near the Strait of Bab al-Mandeb, it said.

The strait is the narrow passage from the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, leading up into the Red Sea and toward Sinai and Israel. It is



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

the sea route over which oil supplies from Iran

flow to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, and Israel; as well as Saudi Arabia, use it for trade with Africa and Asia. Egypt and South Yemen together blockaded it during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war to prevent oil from reaching Israel.

• North Yemen's radical neighbor, South Yemen, said Nov. 24 it had shot down a Phantom F-4 fighter-bomber and captured the pilot. The radio in South Yemen's capital, Aden, claimed the pilot confessed he was on a spying mission from an Iranian base in Oman, east of South Yemen.

Iranian land, sea, and air forces have been supporting the Sultan of Oman's Army against a guerrilla rebellion based in South Yemen. The Sultan also has British military advisers and some U.S. arms aid. Last year the Sultan's government claimed the revolt was crushed, but asked Iran to keep its forces in the area.

Iran first denied loss of the plane, then said it was shot down over Oman airspace. It accused South Yemen of aggression and promised appropriate measures.

• Foreign ministers of eight gulf states ended a meeting in Muscat, Oman, Nov. 26 without reaching a security agreement for the area which Iran and Saudi Arabia, rivals and neighbors, had each sought for its own reasons. News agency reports from Muscat indicated Iraq had prevented agreement.

Before the conference broke up, Sultan Qabus of Oman told the other gulf leaders that if Oman fell, the rest of the area would be threatened by Communist invasion. Iranian spokesman said Shah Reza Pahlevi's government did not insist on a formal security pact, but would accept any arrangement to keep the superpowers out of the area.

There was a curious bit of propaganda byplay. On Nov. 19 the guerrilla Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) announced on Aden Radio it would halt broadcasting from Aden for technical reasons. Stoppage of the broadcasts is something Saudi Arabia would like to see as well as Oman. Saudi Arabia has promised South Yemen financial aid.

But since the PFLO arrangement Aden's Voice of Oman has been in business as usual, broadcasting revolutionary songs and slogans attacking the Shah and Sultan Qabus and the projected gulf security alliance, even appealing in the Persian language to the Iranian troops in Oman to mutiny.

## Allon on peace prospects

By Jason Morris  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Side Boker, Israel  
Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon foresees renewal of international diplomatic momentum "within the next few months" toward solving the Middle East dispute. He says the fact that this will coincide with Israel's national election next year should not matter.

On the contrary, Mr. Allon said Monday the possibility of a compromise formula for peace becoming a central issue in the 1977 campaign would give the Israeli voter a real issue.

Mr. Allon, who also is deputy premier, spoke before the editors' committee of the nation's mass media. The occasion was the 25th anniversary of the UN General Assembly's decision to partition Palestine and establish independent Jewish and Arab states within its borders.

The traditional observance was held in this desert kibbutz farm settlement, because the date also marks the third anniversary of the passing of David Ben-Gurion, one of Israel's founding fathers and its first prime minister and minister of defense, who had made Side Boker his home.

On the still-unfinished question of a Palestinian state, Mr. Allon proposed a bilateral agreement between Israel and newly-installed Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, under which "Lebanese forces" would patrol the Lebanese side of the border and Israeli forces the Israeli side.

The Foreign Minister avoided crucial definition of the so-called "red line" beyond which Israel opposes the deployment of Syrian, inter-Arab, and Palestinian guerrilla units. The authoritative view here is that they must stay at least 12 miles from the Israeli frontier.

Preferring to explain this position in topographical terms, Mr. Allon said it also related to "the status" of the Syrian Army in Lebanon and to the condition of pro-Israel elements there, presumably right-wing Christian Phalangists and their allies.

Mr. Allon put considerable stress on the value of the Geneva conference as an instrument for Middle East peacemaking. He concluded that its importance lies not only in the "unprecedented" forum for Israeli-Arab negotiations but also in the opportunity created for bilateral sessions between Israel and the participating Arab states (Egypt, Syria, and Jordan).

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# Soviet Union

## Détente and Carter: six decisions may be felt worldwide

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
Six major areas in United States dealings with the Soviet Union call for decisions by President-Elect Jimmy Carter in the first few months of his administration.

The areas are:  
• Limiting strategic arms.  
• Human freedoms.  
• Southern Africa.  
• The Middle East.  
• Trade.  
• Reduction of forces in Central Europe.

How Mr. Carter makes those decisions could decide the direction and the tempo of his entire foreign policy. Certainly they will determine whether the strained state of détente will improve or grow worse.

In recent days Soviet officials have told American visitors that Moscow will not try to test Mr. Carter quickly, as former Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev tested newly elected John F. Kennedy over Berlin and Cuba in the early 1960s.

But the potential for friction remains high in these crucial areas:

• Limiting strategic arms — Getting a workable agreement on limiting offensive strategic arms is central to future U.S.-Soviet ties. If Mr. Carter (or Mr. Ford before the inauguration Jan. 20) can get one, the door would be open for a general thaw between Washington and Moscow. If no new agreement is obtained before the first strategic arms limitation (SALT) agreement expires in October of

next year, détente could be set back severely across the board.

The two remaining obstacles to a new agreement are the U.S. pilotless, superaccurate, long-range, low-flying cruise missiles, which can be fired from aircraft or submarines, and the Soviet Backfire bomber, which the Soviets say is of medium range.

Mr. Carter must decide (1) whether to countermand Pentagon pressure and accept limits on the cruises in return for limits on the Backfire, (2) whether to insist that the cruises be exempt, (3) whether to propose to Moscow that both cruises and Backfires be omitted from a new agreement but discussed later.

The new President will find his own State Department arguing strongly for limits on the cruises. The Soviets have told Westerners lately that they would not accept agreement without cruise limits. Nor would they accept one other Carter option: to ask for an extension on the current treaty to allow for more talks. Soviet officials say they would take this to mean that the U.S. was using the delay to develop its own missiles and cruises more fully.

This attitude may be simply a bargaining point to try to push Mr. Carter into an early decision.

• Human freedoms — Mr. Carter must decide quickly how hard to press Moscow to comply more fully with the final act of the 1975 Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. This act, among other things, committed the Soviet Union to make easier "freer movement and contacts" between East and West, to ensure "acceptable" fees for travel documents, to "deal in a positive and

humanitarian spirit" with requests for exit visas to reunite families and to permit marriages.

Mr. Carter in his campaign spoke forcefully of a need for Moscow to live up to these commitments. Western nations generally say Moscow has failed to comply in a number of ways.

The Soviet Government, very sensitive on the issue, insists repeatedly that it has complied and that criticism is unwarranted and hostile.

Mr. Carter must decide (1) whether to signal Moscow soon that he intends to keep applying pressure and if so, how much. Too much might risk Soviet ire in this and other areas.

(2) How to proceed at the coming meeting in Belgrade in June that will review the Helsinki documents. If he intends to maintain pressure, observers say he would be wise to let Moscow know soon. Then Moscow can plot its own course rather than ending up in a public donnybrook in Belgrade.

This does not affect Soviet exports of materials such as chrome and platinum (for which the tariff is zero), but Moscow sees discrimination since most other countries have long had access to lower tariffs.

Mr. Carter must determine whether to please the Soviets by cutting the link between trade and Jewish emigration from this country — or whether to keep on trying to use trade as a lever to let Jews out.

• Reducing forces in Central Europe — Mr. Carter needs to decide whether to try to renew the long-stalled Vienna talks on lowering NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in central Europe.

The NATO position is that the Soviets must reduce more than the West because they have more forces and shorter supply lines.

viets new diplomatic opportunities.

• Trade — Mr. Carter has to decide whether or how to ask Congress to ease restrictions on trade legislation and thus allow U.S. trade to begin a new lease on life.

Although U.S. exports jumped dramatically in the first nine months of this year, the result was mainly grain sales to offset the poor Soviet harvest of last year. This year the harvest is good.

Moscow now is denied U.S. Government credit through the Export-Import Bank of more than \$300 million every four years. Commercial rates are high. Moscow has been turning to Western Europe and Japan. And when the Soviets try to sell to the U.S., they either cannot compete or they run into tariffs of up to 25 percent on some items (because most of a nation's treatment, giving access to lower tariffs, is still withheld.)

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# United States

## Great expectations: can Carter satisfy them — quickly?

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Jimmy Carter now is running against himself — against his promises and his capacity to fulfill them.

Democratic leaders representing all regions across the United States are generally expectant that the President-Elect, as he promised, will move the country forward — but they think that, realistically, he will need a year or so to bring about any substantial changes.

At the same time, these leaders are telling the Monitor that many rank-and-file Democrats — particularly the blacks and jobless, but also teachers, college students, farmers, the elderly, and blue-collar workers — will be giving Mr. Carter a much shorter honeymoon period.

Said one Democratic national committeewoman in the East, reflecting a view that was expressed widely:

"Carter stirred up the expectations of a lot of people who will be wanting action almost immediately."

"I'll be giving Carter a year to show some meaningful movement — but many who voted for him will be giving him a short honeymoon, perhaps no more than 100 days. Then if they haven't seen him start to deliver his promises, some disillusionment will begin to set in."

The top-priority expectation, from Democratic leaders and Democrats generally, is that Carter will set up some sort of job program to relieve unemployment immediately after taking over in January.

At the same time, these same Democrats are looking to Mr.

Carter to move fast to reorganize the executive branch and to bring about tax relief, particularly for those in the lower- and lower-middle-income brackets.

But Monitor samplings of opinion, from Democratic leaders who themselves are conversant with the views of Democrats in their home areas, indicate that expectations are high for President-Elect Carter doing all the following which he has promised — and for doing it fairly fast:

• Stimulating the economy, while at the same time cutting inflation.

• Providing a national health program, a job program, and more money for education, conservation, and energy self-sufficiency while, at the same time, moving toward a balancing of the budget by the end of Carter's first term.

• Cutting big slices of fat from defense spending while still keeping a strong defense posture.

• Bringing about tax reform that will lower taxes for the vast majority of Americans while at the same time providing more funds for government programs.

Said a leader from the Midwest: "I think that Carter is going to be very good for this country, but he must have time to get the job done."

Checks among Democratic leaders in Congress have indicated that the "realities" are such that Mr. Carter in his early months as president, will be able to:

1. Cut taxes.

2. Bring about some reorganization in the executive branch — but that this can only be meaningful if there is a correlative and simultaneous reorganization of Congress.

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# United States



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer  
Cold, but still no snow to discourage Boston runner

## Agents trail gunrunners

By Robert M. Press  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
Except for having more than a dozen handguns in their car, the two Chicago men might have been just another pair of out-of-state visitors to the coastal town in Mississippi.

But as they started home, federal agents, acting on a tip, began following them. When the two men arrived here, they were arrested and soon are to go to trial on charges of violating the federal law against transporting firearms across state lines without a license.

The arrests were part of what may become a nationwide federal effort to curb "gunrunning" — an old practice in the U.S. — by locating and trying to "dry up" out-of-state sources of some of the handguns being used in urban crime.

Firearms are purchased in states not having tight gun-control laws for illegal, profitable resale elsewhere to convicted felons or others not eligible for gun ownership under local or federal laws.

Within recent months, some 180 additional agents of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) working in Chicago, Washington, and Boston have uncovered;

• "Mississippi connection" and an "Arkansas connection" which may account for about 15 percent of the handguns confiscated by police in connection with crimes in Chicago. Agents estimate that up to half the handguns used in crime here appear to be coming from outside the state.

• A "gun avenue," running from Southeastern states to Washington, D.C., along which a significant number of handguns are being smuggled.

## Nuclear overkill 'a myth'

By Dana Adams Schmidt

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

"For a decade or more, the Russians have been living in a dream world. We swallowed the entire myth of 'overkill' and mutual assured destruction."

"But now . . . we learn that there is no such thing as overkill; that the Russians don't accept the idea that they are going to be destroyed, and that they even expect to go on to victory" in any United States-Soviet conflict.

These are the words of Thomas K. Jones, program and product evaluation manager of the Boeing Aerospace Company, who laid out the results of his studies before the Joint Committee on Defense Production recently.

In particular, his group, voluntarily financed by Boeing, tested the effects of nuclear explosions on machinery at Boeing's high technology manufacturing complex in Auburn, Washington.

The result of the tests was that the basic Soviet survival system, dispersal plus packing machines, sandbags or earth, worked very well.

Even more important, in Mr. Jones's opinion, is survival of the work force. He believes that, with a minimum of evacuation and shelters, most workers could survive. Assuming that half of the American nuclear arsenal survived a Soviet first strike, he calculated, the surviving weapons, used against the Soviet Union, could destroy people in at most 3 percent of Soviet territory.

But within a week, the Soviets would be out of their shelters for an 8-hour workday in 97 percent of Soviet territory.

## U.S. wants no know-how row

By Robert C. Cowen  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
To what extent should the technology which provides the brightest jewels in the United States industrial treasure trove be shared with industrially poor nations?

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger sees this as one of the major foreign-policy challenges the United States now faces. That is why he called an unprecedented meeting of American technologists to discuss it.

Developing nations are demanding access to Western technology, especially American technology, freely, without even payment of license fees, as a basic human right. Dr. Kissinger sees little hope or stability in relations with those third-world nations until this issue is settled.

He also realizes that technology is not the property of the U.S. Government to bestow. It belongs legally to the patent holders and businesses of America, and morally to the workers whose jobs depend on those patents. To judge from the recent conference the real owners of America's technology are not eager to give it away.

The meeting started a long process of preparing for a major UN conference on science and technology for development two years hence, and for a U.S. national conference next October that will try to pull together the American response to third-world demands.

To about 1,000 corporate executives, patent experts, union officials, and university researchers, Mr. Kissinger explained his concern for what he called "a subject that has proved most obdurate for us to deal with."

Any secretary of state, he explained, must be concerned with preserving world order. And the fundamental problem he sees is to create an international system in which all participants feel they belong. That means a sys-

tem in which developing countries feel they can tap the technology which provides the fount of American well-being. And that means a system in which U.S. industry and those countries can work together for mutual benefit rather than stare hostilely at each other.

An overview emerged at the session:

Basic misconceptions must be overcome. American technology cannot merely be handed over like a sack of wheat. It doesn't exist in a vacuum. It is part of a national way of life that has evolved over two centuries. A steel mill, an auto factory, a computer assembly plant all depend on a specifically American mix of skills, education, supporting industries, communications, and financial institutions.

For a developing country to adopt even a small piece of American technology is like a family adopting a teen-age foreign child. Both the American industrialists involved and the host country officials must work long and hard to integrate the foreigner. It would be futile to try to provide an American-like environment for technology in, say, Egypt, when what is needed is to evolve an Egyptian environment in which foreign technology can adapt to Egyptian needs.

Also, developing countries must deal directly with American industry which owns the technology. They cannot go through the U.S. Government, which, Mr. Kissinger noted, he would like to do.

And William W. Wimpisinger, general vice-president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, warned that American labor will not tolerate a give-away of technology on which their jobs depend.

Significantly, however, all who spoke at the conference echoed Mr. Kissinger that this "obdurate issue" must be resolved, for the alternative to effective cooperation would be a world in which the American way of life became increasingly irrelevant to the bulk of mankind.

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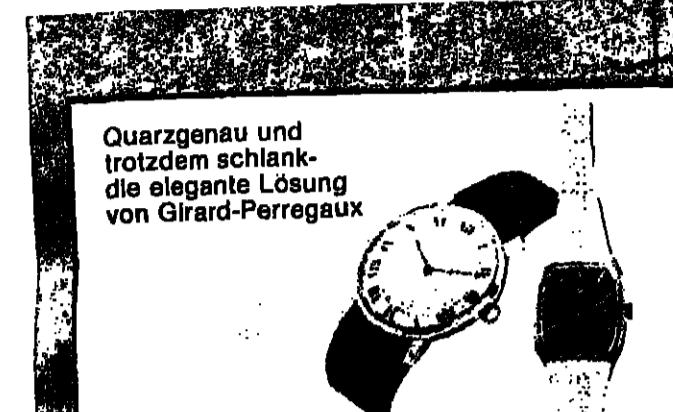
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# Anne Baxter's 'Intermission' on the Australian range



Baxter: actress — and now author



The loggia at Wright's Taliesin North, 1938

Stage and film actress Anne Baxter looks back in a new book to her 'time in the desert' and recalls the impact on her of her renowned grandfather, Frank Lloyd Wright.

By William Marlin  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New York Anne Baxter's grandfather, Frank Lloyd Wright, once said, "The safety of the soul depends upon its courage." Miss Baxter's first book "Intermission," is a chronicle of the kind of courage that America's greatest architect was talking about.

In the early 1960s, "unspooling myself," as she puts it, Miss Baxter jettisoned the heavy cargo of concerns and conflicts that go with "success" in Hollywood. She married a cattle raiser whose honesty was as compelling and fresh as it was unadorned. They moved to isolated Giro, some distance outside Sydney, Australia. Randolph Galt was a revolution in her life; she, a revolution in his; and Giro, "that octopus of a house, with a tin head of corrugated iron," a stage that would be hard to duplicate.

"Intermission," in much the same spirit as Wright's "An Autobiography" of 1932, is full of intense imagery and etched with the elegant simplicity of a writing style that has been stewing on the back burner for a long time.

"My time in the desert, which Giro was for me, was a time when I found out what is important and what isn't," Miss Baxter told me in a recent interview. "It was a painful time [the marriage ended in divorce], but I can't really say that the revolution failed, or that it's even over yet, because, after all, the lessons of my life with Ram and Giro have had an indelible effect ever since."

"I am glad that I had the courage to go after something that I felt was important and fulfilling, as impossible as a lot of the pioneering seemed. I've tried to do a lot of impossible things. We all have. But every time you do, two things happen: It's not just failure. There's always a triumph along with it, and part of this triumph is that I was able to surmount something more than self-pity, and, out of all that isolation, all that loneliness at Giro, all my starvation for human contact, to summon the courage to share what became, finally, a clear-to-the-core adventure in self-discovery."

## A total contrast

Giro, a total contrast to the amony and splendor of her grandfather's legendary estate, Taliesin North, near Scottsdale, Arizona, presented a peculiar and perplexing challenge to Anne Baxter's creative impulses. Wright, too, had pioneered, and the Taliesins were constantly in flux — rambling, low and low, jumping up to embrace the light and enjoy the elements, almost like architectural metaphors of the spontaneity and surprises of everyday human life.

"At Giro," Miss Baxter recalls, "I was intrigued to watch myself in the layers of what I had long thought was 'necessary' started to shed and

William Marlin writes architecture and urban design criticism for The Christian Science Monitor.



With her grandfather and Charlton Heston

learned to be refreshed by even the smallest looks at nature. These looks added up, suggested a picture of what Giro might be — more than a bunch of screened sleeping porches, terrible little rooms out back, more than a tangle of hallways inside."

So Miss Baxter began formulating plans for a house. "With a sum total of what Grandfather might have done had he been pioneering there," she explains, "I really built that design in my head — a house in which you could have looked up, out, through — with the space and the senses and the spirit flowing."

"Even as a small child, I loved walking through houses that were half built, and they were always so much more beautiful halfway through than when they were finished, because you could look up, out, through. That's why I love the Taliesins — two of the most engaging glorifications of the American spirit that we possess in this country — because, really, Grandfather never finished them."

"I suppose the greatest thing I learned from Grandfather was the amazing richness of the human being. His houses were always growing ... even when they were technically finished. But why, do you suppose? Because he saw architecture as an expression of the constant metamorphosis that is occurring within every person, and every place. He saw drama in that, drama in that flux, change, becoming.

## Reasons for acting career

"And maybe that's why I chose acting. It was a way for me to express, to delve into and deal with the full range of human experience, possibility, hope, failure, and triumph. Grandfather's sense of drama was not cold, remote, and removed from this essential humanness. Not at all."

"He always started with the human being, and then set about to enclose and enhance the life to be lived within the building. His sense of structure came out of a sense of life — not out of preconceived rules about decoration or technical tricks. That is why his buildings are so fantastically different; for the human purpose changed from one to the other; the character of the site, and environment did too."

Miss Baxter's fascination with metamorphosis is vivid. At Giro she rehearsed the taste of fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit. "And I became a darn good cook," she adds proudly. "I mean, I had to. There in Australia, the stove was my stage! Bertha, Bertha, big black Bertha, I named her. Why I danced all over her!" This penchant for personalizing inanimate objects or intangible sentiments is one of the best aspects of "Intermission."

"If you ever wanted to explain that word, metamorphosis, to a child," she begins, "you would take a tiny, quiet kernel of corn. And then you would heat it. And then you would watch it change shape, taking on a life of its own — the noise and the smell and the motion of it. ... Plus, you could eat it, you know."

"That's what I mean by describing Grandfather's buildings. ... There is this atmosphere, this intangible, unfolding serenity, sparked recurrently by surprise. Perhaps the one word to describe it ... is

play, for the human being ... to play.

"I mean that Grandfather once had hanging over West," Miss Baxter says. "When I was a year ago, there was as yet no glass. Great stretches of canvas, diffusing light between the angular redwood beams these deep overhangs, with these block beads, the cubes and circles and triangles — all painted by his students to vermilion, and gold. They were still tall over, and it was so wild!

## Play again

"Wanting the human being to play — not intentionally in the sense that he felt deeply moved to really put out their capacities for discovery. He left room for that, letting screen leaves room for you to fill in whatever you suggested.

"People about him, of course, wanting to know what this hold on his imagination was like. He left room for others to fill in, as I suggested, and, for all the 500 or so years, his significance for architects and for significance for anyone devoted to human and environmental integrity — a room to interpret and to imagine."

## In Giro

Not far from the loggia, Baxter recalls, was a kind of Druids circle she imagines, the aborigines must have had.

"The ground formed a round green bluff, crowned with a spreading white cedar tree. Large, marvellously arranged, flanked and surrounded by the small bluff, a varied variety of shrubs and grasses.

"The girdle was orchestrated with water music from Giro, which ran down from the cedar's bottom, a flowing lawn, broken by more slabs of light-colored, lichenized rock, which joined into the circle, to form a natural dock. Willows, larches, mandarin fingers in the current; it was one of cunning asymmetry, without artifice; a capricious nature had let it be."

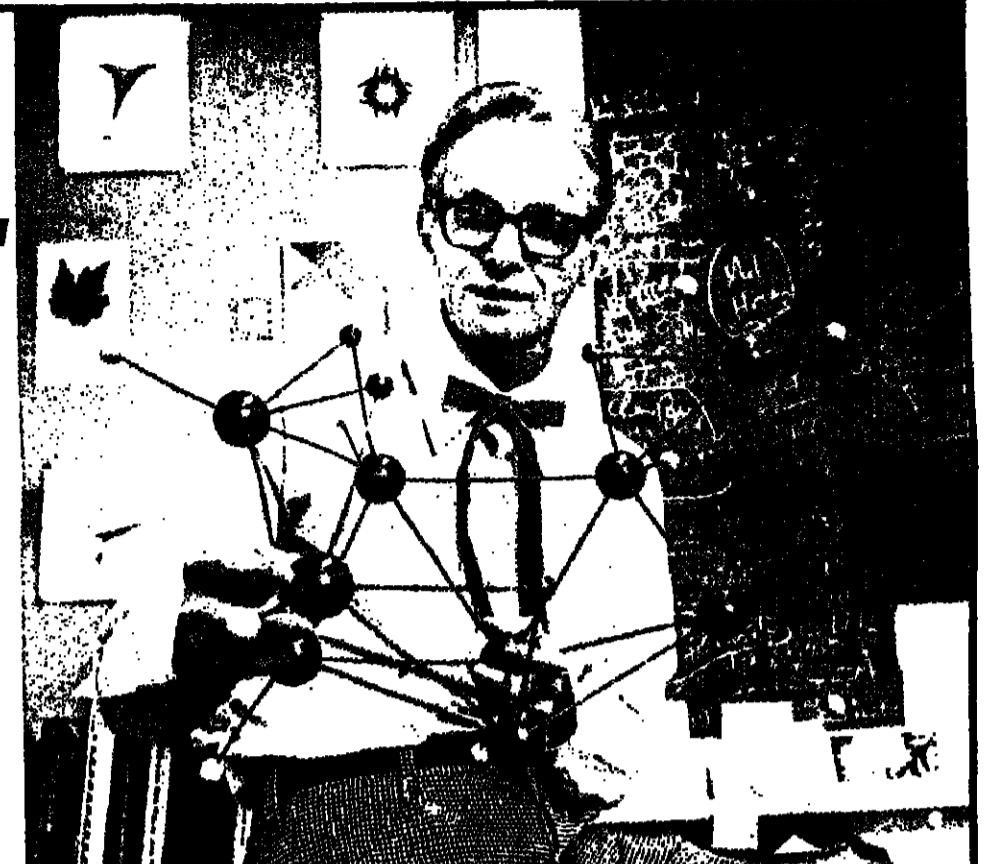
There, is a site like that, for he always relied on what one's hands would touch. And when asked how a town a site should be, he would inevitably say, "Oh, about 10 times farther than you're planning."

His grandfather, a similar elan, went way out of town to find a circle near Giro. What she wasn't planning, at the rest of us now can share, is the desire to travel to the center of her spirit in order to...

# Nobel winner gets 'good leads' from freshmen

Prof. Lipscomb reflects on process of discovery

By Andreas de Rhoda  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor



"Colonel" Lipscomb at Harvard  
By Barth J. Felsenberg, staff photographer

Not even a Nobel Prize?  
Especially not a Nobel Prize. That is not the way scientific work operates."

One question on the motivational side: When Saul Bellow won the Nobel Prize in letters for his novels, a week after you, he said he felt he had at last achieved recognition. Didn't you feel that way?

"No, I just said I was pleased. Some reporters didn't understand that at all. You see, in scientific research, you know what you have accomplished, and the people in your field who read your papers, know. Recognition grows right along with your work, rather than dramatically."

"They have often come when I was really doing nothing," he said in an interview at his office on the top floor of Gibbs Laboratory.

"Sometimes they have been associated with changes in my daily routine; for instance, after I have hardly slept, which happens rarely because I sleep very well."

"Hemingway said the only way he could keep up his writing day after day was not to, at any price, think of it between writing sessions. Same thing?"

"It might be. I'm quite aware, of course, that my mind goes on working on a problem, unconsciously once I turn away from it. Especially after I get completely absorbed in doing something else."

"Since you reportedly work seven days a week, what is this something else you manage to absorb yourself in?"

"I play the clarinet. I also play tennis."

"Do you play the clarinet for the purpose of self-expression?"

"No, because I love to. I have loved music since I was a boy. I play decently enough to be invited fairly often to play with professional musicians in concerts."

"Where did these ideas come from?"  
They usually came from the other two of the three areas I have worked in — organic, organic, and biochemistry. Ideas tend to flow across: a bit from here, a bit from there, a bit from someone else's work. Somehow, it all comes together.

"First there is a bit of a new lead. I take it, and I look at it, and I usually go and talk about it to one of my students who is working in or near that area. Then this thing may de-

velop between the two of us. Oh, yes; I also get a lot of good leads from teaching freshmen."

## Freshmen?

"Yes, yes, freshmen. They ask simple questions, the basic questions, the questions most students in later classes no longer dare ask because they fear they ought to know the answers. Questions from first-year students often startle me. I tell them: 'Well, I've never thought about it just that way. Let me try to answer you ...' That is important to do research to keep your teaching fresh is recognized generally. But to me it is also important to do teaching to keep my research fresh."

There is one kind of shut-down Professor Lipscomb regards as uncreative and, in fact, deadly: the shut-down in funds. Like most of his colleagues, he charges the federal government with treating basic research like an option, generally out of a lack of understanding of its foundation-laying role for all other research and development.

A large government agency supporting his borane work to the tune of \$50,000 a year cut off the money suddenly, after four years. The blow to the work was severe: the staff of highly competent assistants dissipated, the best ones, as usual, leaving first.

He has hearty praise for the one backer that has gone with him all the way since 1949, the U.S. Office of Naval Research:

"Now they're out of money, too, and will terminate our funding at the end of this year. But we have already applied to the National Science Foundation. We are hopeful."

One last question on idea generation: who generated the idea for the remarkable string tie you wear?

"My wife, Mary-Adèle. She is a genius in design and handicrafts. She also opened my eyes to paintings. She has made some 20 of these ties, all different in colors and design. They are, as a matter of fact, Kentucky Colonel ties."

Then you are a Kentucky Colonel? And a Kentucky Colonel?

"Yes, bona fide."

That explained the hand-painted sign nailed to the main door of the laboratory. It read, "Welcome to Gibbs Laboratory, home of Colonel Professor William N. Lipscomb, Nobel Prize winner."



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### NORTHERN IRELAND

## SENE

From page 1

## \*What color hands on Rhodesian reins?

In addition to this major stumbling block to agreement between blacks and whites, the conference is beset from the wings by a struggle within the African delegations for the position of Rhodesia's first black prime minister. The record in Africa shows that the man who is No. 1 at the moment of the formal assumption of power by an independent black government remains No. 1 after the transfer. Thus for the four main black participants at Geneva the stakes are high.

The four are Joshua Nkomo, believed hitherto to have the best organizational support among Zimbabweans; Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who believes (as do many outsiders) that he has the widest mass support in Zimbabwe; Robert Mugabe, who has the closest connections of the four with the Zimbabwean guerrilla organizations based in Mozambique and operating inside Rhodesia; and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who has a long record of nationalist struggle and had wide appeal among the more educated Zimbabweans but who is believed now to be trailing in the race for leadership. At Geneva, the less radical Mr. Nkomo has formed a tactical alliance in a "Patriotic Front" with the more radical Mr. Mugabe.

Reuter reported from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Dec. 1 that a delegation including Zimbabwean guerrilla leader Rex Nhongo was leaving for Geneva to back up Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo at the conference. Their presence could, on the one hand, reinforce the black hard-liners in the Geneva negotiations but, on the other, help ensure that any agreement reached in Geneva is accepted by the guerrillas.

Just how hard line the Patriotic Front is prepared to be — at least in its opening bargaining bid — was hinted in a statement on British television by Mr. Mugabe to the effect that Prime Minister Smith and other white minority leaders should be brought to trial in a black-run Zimbabwe. The front's proposals for the multi-racial cabinet during the transition period was reported to provide for 25 ministers, five of whom would be white — and law and order going to blacks. (Whites are outnumbered more than 20 to 1 in Rhodesia.) And



Shopping in Salisbury.

### How go the bargains in Geneva?

Instead of a multiracial council of state above the interim government, the front wants a British resident commissioner.

White Rhodesians interpret Mr. Smith's agreement with Dr. Kissinger as providing for a council of state with a white chairman. The council would appoint the interim government and have a measure of control over it. The leader of the white Rhodesian delegation at Geneva, Pieter van der Byl, insists that this is what was promised — and what he will de-

mand. (In the same news conference Nov. 30 at which he said this, Mr. van der Byl called Mr. Mugabe a "bloodthirsty Marxist puppet.")

That Britain under certain circumstances might move toward the role wanted by the black nationalists was hinted Nov. 28 by British Minister of State at the Foreign Office Edward Rowlands. He said: "I don't think delegates [at Geneva] will find Britain unwilling to grasp whatever nettle needs to be grasped to achieve . . . transition [to majority rule]."

From page 1

## \*Hosenball and Agee

fective and systematic efforts to combat the CIA that can be undertaken right now are the identification, exposure and neutralization of its people working abroad."

Some months ago, in keeping with this belief, Counterpoint published a list of alleged CIA station chiefs, one of whom was almost immediately assassinated.

Mr. Rees did not state that the two writers were being deported for activities against the CIA in Britain, though Philip Agee claims that the action against him was taken at the request of a newly arrived CIA chief for the London station. British sources deny this, saying that the men were planning to start publishing lists of British agents next, and had to be stopped.

Mark Hosenball has denied that one, and the two of them have protested against the special procedure which refuses them specific knowledge of the names of their stations and stations of their agents.

From page 1

## \*Lebanon: suspicions and answers

southern Lebanon. Mr. Rees said last Monday:

"We are interested in — and therefore propose to reach as soon as possible — a reciprocal agreement with the accredited government of Lebanon regarding arrangements that will ensure calm on both sides of the border."

The accredited government of Lebanon is, of course, President Sarkis. President Sarkis is in turn the ultimate commander of the Arab League peace-keeping force in Lebanon, of which the Syrian troops are formally a part.

In Jerusalem Nov. 30, Israeli Government officials denied that an arrangement was being

### Commentary

Philip American once posted in London and published here in the International Herald Tribune.

Under the evocative (if hardly accurate) headline "The Knock at the Door," Mr. Lewis regretted that the decision to expel had aroused "shamefully little outrage" in Britain.

Americans who regarded Britain as the original source of their own liberties would feel a deep sadness that so many crimes could be

perpetrated in Britain without being noticed.

Perhaps, without passing any personal judgment on the case, it would be in order to present the other side of it. It is, of course, conceivable that (to quote a statement put out by the headquarters of the leftward National Union of Students) "Mark Hosenball and Philip American are the 'shady deal' in Northern Ireland."

The drawbacks in expelling known agents are twofold. First, if Britain throws out her agents, the tradition is that the Russians may do the same, useful men of Britain, and known agents who leave England may be replaced by a new and unknown set. So, the real object of expelling Hosenball and Agee is really quite painless process compared with what is in Moscow jail.

It comes these days in scarlet, pink, salmon, white, and striped. The huge bulb is

scattered above the soil, and if disturbed in

transit should be reset this way with the roots

downward.

Place the pot in a saucer full of water and

water it carefully from the top. Use lukewarm water. Once the soil is moist (not soggy), water it from the saucer only to keep it moist. When the flowers are well up it will

need a little more each time.

Place your amaryllis in a warm room, 70 to

80 degrees F., even temperature day and night.

When the flower bud is well along, move it to a

cooler place away from the sun. You can make

the flowers last longer by setting the pot in a

cool place at night (45 degrees of so).

The big straplike leaves will emerge after the flower is in bud.

At the start the pot looks bare, stick some

evergreens in it. It may send up a second

flower stalk later, so don't discard it.

If you wish to carry it over for another sea-

son, keep it moist and set it in the garden in a

repressive tyrant.

From page 1

## \*Brezhnev

He is just back from a trip to Belgrade, Bucharest, seeking to improve his relations with Yugoslavia and Romania. In Yugoslavia, he had to promise that he would not try to take advantage of any trouble there when Marx Tito is no longer on hand. And in Bucharest, Romanians celebrated his visit by signing a new trade agreement with the Americans.

To Mr. Brezhnev the loyalty and stability of Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia are deemed essential. This is his military's field. This is the take-off position for the 18,000 battle tanks. If the governments of these three countries should lose control over their people, his military base would be weaker. He might even have to pull some of hisward military units back inside Soviet frontiers for their own protection.

He has nothing to worry about in Czechoslovakia, but some basis for concern in East Germany and a great deal of basis for concern about Poland. The East Germans are restive. More dare to apply for exit visas than ever before. The Protestant clergy is growing, as is spoken against the regime and its repression system. In Poland the Roman Catholic Church is also speaking out as never before.

A pastoral letter signed by Stefan Gajewski was read Nov. 28 in the Catholic churches all over Poland. It was the regime of wagging an "obdious, brutal" campaign against the church. It called on the Polish people to be "sober, alert, and vigilant."

accused the regime of suppression of civil liberties and violation of the Polish Constitution. It was the strongest language used by the Roman Catholic Church in Poland against the since the regime was set up.

The pastoral letter realigns the church in Poland (an overwhelmingly Catholic country) with the workers who rioted against the regime last June and have been in a state of citizen unrest and opposition ever since.

Thus Poland and East Germany are prime fields for Mr. Brezhnev.

Looking afield he may notice that his client, Angola, is frantically sealing up agreements and other economic arrangements with Western Europe and the United States. Much as the Angolans are indebted to them, they cannot get from Moscow the old and analogy they need to get their country out of a . . . transition [to majority rule]."

Monday, December 6, 1976

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## Welsh design blossoms on international fabric

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Laura Ashley, a winsome Welsh designer, has as distinct an idea about what should go into the home as she does about the ready-to-wear fabrics that have made her name known from Britain to Europe to California to Japan. The essence of that idea projects the British country way of life, including such down-to-earth pursuits as gardening, sheep-raising, bread-baking, and country dancing. The Ashley designs come directly from the Welsh countryside observed, flower gardens remodeled, and legendary motifs admired. They have sometimes been termed "folkloric" in aspect.

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Matching wallpaper and fabric by Welsh designer Laura Ashley

cluster of stone farm buildings. A thousand sheep graze on nearby hills. It is no wonder the Ashley fashions abound in ruffled and sashed milkmaid dresses and sunbonnets. The classic Ashley dress is high-necked, tucked, full-skirted and sashed.

The Ashleys say the key to their success has been the combination of their talents. He has a great eye for color and she has a sharply developed critical faculty. He manages, designs, shops, and promotes, but keeps his office in the middle of production activities.

The couple began in London where he was

involved in textiles for the home, but was also trying to write novels. To help family finances, Laura began to design and to print on a small silk-screen press he made for her. They soon found whatever they produced they could sell, whether it was scarves, tea towels, placemats, or garden aprons.

Later they moved their "cottage" industry to Laura's native Wales, where it has now grown into big business. He gave up writing to pursue printing of their own fabrics, the Ashley fashions, and now in the burgeoning home furnishings field.

## home

## Fig and rice stuffings for Christmas duckling

By a staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Duckling, like all poultry, seems to take on more flavor from a succulent stuffing, subtly acquiring some of the spices and other flavorings used in the dressing. It is particularly compatible with a dressing that contains fruits, either fresh or dried.

Dried figs are somewhat unusual and a cinch to use in this recipe because it has a prepared poultry dressing as its base.

When using a prepared dressing such as melba toast dressing or corn bread stuffing, you not only cut down the time in preparing duck for the oven, you save a lot of work in the kitchen.

If neither of these dressings are available in your area, use one that you are familiar with from previous experience, or use a basic recipe that is made from scratch.

### Fig Stuffing for Duckling

1 package (6 ounces) toasted bread stuffing  
1/2 cup minced celery  
1 cup finely chopped dried figs  
Grated rind of 1 orange  
1/2 cup melted butter or margarine  
1/2 cup orange juice  
1 duckling, about 5 to 6 pounds  
1/2 a lemon and salt

Combine dressing, celery, figs, orange rind, butter, and orange juice. Mix well. Rub duckling inside and out with lemon and then sprinkle with salt. Use fig mixture to stuff duckling. Sew or skewer opening and roast as usual.

Brown rice stuffing is somewhat traditional for duckling. This recipe combines it with celery with raisins and walnuts for a flavor that is delicious.

### Duckling with Rice Stuffing

1 duckling (4 1/2 to 5 pounds)  
1/2 teaspoon salt

Dash of pepper  
1/2 cup chopped onion  
1/4 cup butter or margarine  
1/2 cup brown rice, cooked

1 cup sliced celery  
1/2 cup seedless raisins  
1/2 cup coarsely chopped walnuts  
1 jar (10 ounces) crabapple jelly  
1/4 cup red wine vinegar  
1/4 teaspoon cloves  
1/4 teaspoon nutmeg

Wash, drain, and dry duckling. Sprinkle body and neck cavities with salt and pepper. Prepare stuffing. Cook onion in butter or margarine until tender, but not brown. Add cooked rice, celery, raisins, and walnuts; mix lightly. Fill neck and body cavities loosely with stuffing. Skewer neck skin to back.

That pretty cyclamen needs a cool location and plenty of water (but not soaking). When it arrives set it in a pan of warm water until the soil is moist on top. Thereafter, don't let it be dry. Changes of temperature, drafts, or dryness will make it lose its leaves.

Spraying the leaves (not the colored bracts) each day with lukewarm water will help keep them fresh. A warm sunny window facing south is the best location. On cold nights a good way is to set it each day in a pan of lukewarm water until damp (about an hour), then throw away the water. As the flowers are spent, and if any leaves turn yellow, sharply twist the stems off the corn to prevent decay.

Your cyclamen may send up another supply of flower buds and bloom again in March or April. Let it go dormant after blooming; then report it at the same level in a north window for the summer or in the garden. Don't forget to water it.

To make glaze, combine jelly, vinegar, and spices. Place over low heat and bring to boil; boil 2 to 3 minutes. Brush duckling with glaze several times during last 30 minutes of cooking. Makes 4 servings.

Those using British measurements should remember that a U.S. cup is equal to 5/8 of a British cup. An American teaspoon is slightly smaller than a British one.

If you receive an azalea, stand it in a pan of





# French/German

## Les fermiers blancs : ils sont chez eux en Rhodésie

[Traduction d'un article paraissant à la page 2]

par June Goodwin  
Correspondante du  
Christian Science Monitor

Centenary, Rhodésie

Le téléphone était pendu à un arbre quand Tish et Phillip de la Fargue arrivèrent ici il y a 14 ans pour se construire une ferme là où il n'y avait eu que de la mauvaise herbe et des arbustes sauvages.

Aujourd'hui, le téléphone peut être branché d'une prise à l'autre dans chacune des huttes rondes couvertes de chaume qui composent la maison.

Mais on doit encore actionner la manivelle pour contacter le central téléphonique, et huit maisons sont branchées sur la ligne. Car les de la Fargue vivent dans la brousse rhodésienne, avec environ 80 autres familles blanches et des milliers d'ouvriers africains ainsi que leurs familles. La ville elle-même, à deux heures de voiture au nord de Salisbury, n'existe pas avant 1953. Elle fut appelée Centenary lors du centième anniversaire de Cecil Rhodes, pionnier anglais en Afrique australe et fondateur de la Rhodésie.

C'est une bonne terre agricole, mais les Africains choisissent de vivre au bas de l'escarpement dans la vallée de Mzabani, l'extrémité sud de la vallée du Grand Rift qui traverse l'Afrique orientale le long d'une ligne s'étendant vers le sud à partir de l'Ethiopie.

Mis à part l'arrosage tout ce que nous devons faire c'est planter les graines et nous retirer", affirme Mme de la Fargue au sujet de son luxuriant jardin d'agrément.

Les blancs de Centenary sont quelques-unes des 6 100 fermiers blancs de Rhodésie dont l'avvenir est dans la balance avec le gouvernement noir qui s'achemine. Tous les fermiers d'ici se demandent si les conditions de vie seront différentes dans le Zimbabwe,

comme les noirs appellent leur pays. Ils se demandent si les fermiers blancs pourront rester.

Si les de la Fargue sont forcés de partir, qu'adviendra-t-il des 300 Africains, la plupart originaires du Malawi et du Mozambique, qui travaillent dans leur ferme?

De l'avant général les conditions de vie des Africains sont pitoyables, mais la vie ici est un degré au-dessus de celle qu'ils avaient chez eux.

Le cuisinier de Mme de la Fargue — qui gagne \$28 par mois, plus le logement gratuit, l'instruction de ses sept enfants et les soins médicaux — est en train de se construire une nouvelle maison.

Le maître valet de ferme, que M. de la Fargue a formé pendant une période de 18 ans, a une instruction qui correspond à huit années de scolarité et gagne \$88 par mois, plus 1% sur le produit de la récolte.

Le maître valet de ferme pourrait diriger la ferme sauf pour ce qui concerne le côté commandes de l'affaire, d'après M. de la Fargue. Mais le maître valet de ferme n'aurait pas le capital nécessaire pour s'acheter la ferme et n'aurait probablement pas l'autorisation de le faire parce qu'il est Malawi. Les de la Fargue ont placé \$80 000 dans leurs 800 hectares.

Comme leurs voisins ils ne veulent pas quitter la Rhodésie. Mais M. de la Fargue dit qu'ils devraient si les conditions de travail deviennent trop difficiles et si sa famille était en danger (Trois enfants adolescents sont en pension dans des écoles.)

Beaucoup d'étrangers considéraient la famille comme déjà en danger. Depuis quatre ans les fermiers ont été sur le qui-vive ici, emportant leurs fusils avec eux où qu'ils aillent. Mais Mme de la

la Fargue dit qu'ils ne se soucient pas beaucoup des alertes parce qu'ils y sont si habitués.

Centenary fut la région de Rhodésie où les attaques des guerilleros commencèrent le 21 décembre 1971. A cause des guerilleros, appelés terroristes par presque tous les blancs, la route venant de Salisbury fut goudronnée, un système de radio entre les fermes fut installé et une milice de défense civile fut instituée.

Peter Douglas, chef de la milice civile de Centenary, a donné récemment des conférences dans d'autres régions sur la façon de mobiliser le peuple pour conjurer les attaques. «Toute personne sensée savait depuis longtemps qu'il [le gouvernement des noirs] venait», a dit M. Douglas.

La question qui se pose en Rhodésie c'est comment vaincre le racisme, aussi longtemps qu'ils le purent. Maintenant les fermiers ne veulent pas partir, ne savent pas où aller s'ils doivent partir; mais dans leur appréhension, ils pensent à l'expérience d'Alec Paine. M. Paine est un fermier qui s'est installé à Centenary après avoir quitté la Zambie lorsque le gouvernement noir prit le pouvoir. Il partit après avoir conduit l'un de ses ouvriers à la police de Zambie pour être châtié et la police donna des coups de pied et tua cet homme sous ses yeux.

Centenary a les nerfs à vif. Plusieurs des voisins de la Fargue ont été tués. John Elliot, qui dirige une ferme sur l'escarpement, a tué lui-même des Africains innocents pensant qu'ils étaient des guerilleros. «Je n'ai pas pu dormir pendant des nuits après cela», déclare-t-il.

Il y a beaucoup de bons travailleurs blancs à Centenary. Les de la Fargue sont acharnés à la lampe à pétrole pendant sept ans et ils ont bâti leurs maisons rondes couvertes de chaume pour la somme de \$360 seulement, utilisant des briques qu'ils fabriquaient avec l'argile des termitières. Ils sont plus informés que beaucoup d'autre.

La Fargue dit que Dieu soit un être à l'image humaine dans un royaume distant, prenant note de nos erreurs afin de nous punir, nous empêche de connaître Dieu et même de désirer de connaître. Cela augmente nos craintes, car nous n'avons aucun havre où nous puissions nous réfugier et obtenir aide et réconfort.

Il y a aussi beaucoup de racisme à Centenary. «Les enfants de couleurs [les noirs] ont une existence tragique, déclare la Fargue.

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# The Home Forum

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



'A Village Square' 1943: Oil on canvas by L. S. Lowry

## Then one day I saw it!

I can't help feeling the persistent nudge of Charlie Chaplin when I look at the paintings of L. S. Lowry. Those eccentric characters wobbling along an industrial town street — lonely, wistful, poignant — the common man, the vulnerable snipe, made funny by affectionately seeing the funny side of it all.

But neither artist mocked the people they depicted; too much sympathetic understanding was involved for that.

"When I first knew Lowry during the first World War," wrote James Filton, a close friend of Lowry and a member of the Royal Academy of Art, "he was a long, thin, gaunt figure, with boots that always looked too big and oddly articulated limbs that seemed to have been assembled by someone not quite sure of themselves. Many years later, when I had become familiar with the odd idiosyncratic figures that populated his canvases, I realized how very like they are to him he is."

Perhaps this helps to explain how Lowry could show us crowds of people who appear at first anonymous and purposeless and then, with more careful regard, emerge as individuals, often clearly directed. He did not know these people personally, but he knew their experience. He could chronicle England's industrial North like a journalist with a camera-like mind and a wide-eyed view of how it looked to the outsider. But he could also present an "insider's" image, as though he were a writer who had experienced what he described, picking and putting together the most endearing, poetic, and true points. The

result is something totally lacking in sentimality, yet wholly sympathetic.

This might also partly explain why Lowry, who painted the unlikely subject of dreary industrial towns teeming with what would appear to be dreary people, is, nevertheless, one of England's most beloved contemporary artists. One feels many things when looking at a Lowry, but dreariness is rarely one of them. It may be implied and it is certainly part of the image, but it is superseded by stronger elements, and in particular, a kind of wry, poignant beauty — both detailed and accurate in its description. Lowry once said:

"Had I not been lonely, none of my work would have happened. I should not have done what I've done, or seen the way I saw things," he said one time.

What would appear to most as seedy, dull subjects was transformed by Lowry's ability to see visual and poetic appeal. He saw stringbean men shuffling off to work; capped and cautious children observing other children, leading a dog, sizing up a possible mate, or the improbable artist painting the scene; strange, singular figures, like the maiden aunt in the right corner of "A Village Square," who both pose as if for a camera and watches as if it were her right; clumps of hatted characters, in some cases chatting; in others, fitted together like dovesitting; and always the ubiquitous "mother" pushing a pram. The crowd and its complexities were set against the smokestacks, the factories and the mills of England's North. Because Lowry did this vocabulary, leaving behind a legacy of his own words. These words, along with those of his closest friends, now make the conjectures of the art historian less necessary if not even slightly vain.

As an individual, Lowry was said to have been of a lonely nature, awkward and gangly in youth, aloof and eccentric in maturity. He lived with his mother until she passed away, and then lived on his own for the rest of his life. But his loneliness was largely self-imposed and this isolation became the breeding ground for his growth, so that eventually he preferred it that way.

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liarly Lowry and particularly English in the scenes he paints and in the humor, detachment, sympathy and eccentricity with which he interprets these scenes.

His artistic training consisted of more than twenty years of evening art classes. By day (it has been only recently revealed) he supported himself at various times as a collector, a claims clerk in a life insurance firm, and a bookkeeper. It must have been a tenacious vision in order to have survived such wearisome work and the obvious contrasts from his day and his night.

His childlike drawing of the human figure was as innocent as the Artful Dodger. His simple compositions were painstakingly signed so that the viewer's eye could digest what would otherwise be an overwhelming clutter. Colorwise, he tended to be arbitrary, using tomato reds, celadon greens, touches of a harsh blue, and always the mystifying use of white in the sky and the ground. And yet, even this presently chalky mist is misleading. "Give it time to yellow — to darken — to discolor — and then you will see what I mean and what it is that I want to show you."

Lowry held his tenacious vision. While his contemporaries stewed over the question of new forms of expression, Lowry persisted in painting what and how he felt he had to paint, bringing to mind the words of the character Konstantine in Chekhov's "The Seagull": "It isn't a matter of old forms or new forms — one must write without thinking about forms, and just because it pours freely from one's soul."

The fact is, Lowry does not fit neatly into any artistic niche. In the end, Lowry is pecu-

liar.

Barbaranell Hynes

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, December 6, 1976

## Move the piano where?

"One thing about the Germans (twaang-eeng!) said the piano-tuner, giving that corkscrew-like tool which piano tuners wield a delicate wallop with the palm of his hand, prodding a note and listening intently, "one thing about the Germans (twaang-eeng!) is that they build solid pianos."

I would concur with that. I would even go further. I would say that they make rugged, incontestable, muscle-bound, Herculean, obstinate, resolute, stubborn pianos. That is why I must confess to a certain cold sweat when the piano tuner, having administered a final discriminatory arpeggio to the unsuspecting keyboard, followed by an apparently absent-minded rendering of "Sweet Polly Oliver," remarked: "It really would be better if you could move it into the next room where it's warmer. A piano is a delicate instrument."

That, as I say, is why a sort of doubling took hold on me. And that is also why my wife played Laurel to my Hardy.

She made the first move, actually, that evening. She usually does when it comes to furniture-shifting time. Somehow she seems to be keen on it. She said, "Perhaps we really should, shouldn't we, darling, since he told us to?"

So we went next door where the piano had last been seen — and there it was still, just where it had been. And we chose an end each, and I pushed forwards, and she pulled backwards, and I heaved, and she dragged, and I threw myself towards it, and she tried to throw herself away from it while still holding on, and I said a word or two which I perhaps shouldn't have said, and she said try again, so we did, after changing ends: she shoved with all her might and I tugged with all my might . . . and . . . there was the piano again.

But in the end that night we once again hit the pillow, the less-than-proud owners of one unmoved piano.

We won, though. It meant taking the second door off, and breaking up a blue slate or two, and rucking the linoleum, and damaging the piano's polish — but, on evening number three, there it had been.

At first it seemed as if I was merely repeating words, but after a while I began to relax. I was no longer afraid. I had the peace I needed in which to more objectively and more confidently evaluate my future. Soon I decided to return to the city where I had lived for many years, and in a short time a challenging new field of work opened up for me, a position that I was to hold for almost twenty years.

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God does love us. His care surrounds all of His children. We have to know it, though. God is the real and only Mind of man, nourishing him constantly and forever with right ideas. It is only when we allow fear or human will to keep from listening for these ideas that we seem to lack what we need. Divine Love guides us when we are willing to listen. God's love is infinite, and as reflections of Love, we must learn to love as God loves.

This means seeing the real, spiritual selfhood once again.

"DON'T UPSTAIRS!" we shouted in unison. There was another pause. Oh . . . I don't know . . . I suppose we'll get used to it, I thought. The ugly great monster, hefty Beethoven-battleship moored alongside the bookshelf . . .

"Well, anyway," said my wife, "it's a terrible job, but it should give you something to write about."

"DON'T SAY THAT!" I said with the most vigorous severity I could muster. "You know very well that suggestions of that kind give me writers' cramp! Writers are very delicate instruments. Much more delicate than pianos."

Christopher Andreas

The Monitor's religious article

## God loves you

of man and the expression of God in each of our fellowmen.

"Beloved, now are we the sons of God," said the Apostle John, "and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is. And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure."

This includes everyone. Love is the only power. Love, everlasting, is our home, our heritage, now and forever. Yes, God loves you. He loves us all.

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, p. 256; "I John 3:2, 4.

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Praise ye the Lord; O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? who can shew forth all his praise?

Psalm 106:1-2

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Margaret Tauda

### Blue

This majority of hue  
And wonder so  
At cynics who  
Catalogue as blue  
The skies  
And my child's eyes.  
I  
Emphasize  
Or mood.

Sharon Cooper

### Marriage

A boat is a bit of wood  
a sail, a bit of cloth,  
together  
they outrun the wind!

# OPINION AND...

## Westminster through the Looking-Glass

By Francis Renny

**London** Things are often the opposite of what they seem in British politics. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's Tories do not really want to overthrow the Labour government. And the Labour government does not really want to reform the House of Lords.

These hidden truths have become evident in private conversations among the strategists of both parties.

There have been angry denunciations of the peers by Labourites for "wrecking" such bills as the Dock Work Regulation Bill (subsequently wrecked still further by Labour's own Commons mutineers), the Aircraft and Shipbuilding Nationalisation Bill, and the Tied Cottages Bill. Their lordships have been castigated as feudal, un-elected, irresponsible, unrepresentative, reactionary, and undemocratic.

To listen to some Socialist MPs, one might have thought the peers all arrived from their castles wearing top hats and ermine, driving Rolls-Royces, to lunch on champagne and ripe pheasant. The facts are that most of the peers voting on any given issue come from business or professional backgrounds, and that an increasing proportion are life peers with not a drop of blue blood or an acre of landed property in their background.

There has been no real reform of the Upper House since 1911. Their delaying powers have been reduced and the life peers invented, but it was the Labour Party itself which stopped the 1968 effort at reform. Labour's reluctance to do anything is partly due to the

preference of the left wing for complete abolition (which would have many disadvantages for any government), partly to a still more cogent argument.

If the Upper House were to be chosen on some sort of representational lines — representing regions or counties or organized interests like trade unions, business and professional bodies, churches — then it would have to be given certain real powers. There would be no point in regions or bodies putting up candidates to represent them, if those representatives could have no influence at all on legislation.

It is perfectly true that the present Upper House does not make such difficulties for a Conservative government as it makes for Labour. Peers like to insist that they would block a Tory government if it actually went mad. They have a somewhat better case than usual for their present behavior when they point out that Labour is ramming through highly controversial legislation on the basis of a minority vote in the country and a bare majority in the Commons.

Even so, the Lords know that all they can ultimately do is delay. They have no real right, as un-elected legislators, to expect more. In fact, governments are often grateful for the chance, in the Lords, to straighten out defects that managed to survive the uproot of the Commons.

If delay and minor repairs are the real function of the Lords, the hereditary-plus-life-peer-

age system supplies the need admirably. It is cheap, it provides honor and reward, it spares the British still more voting, and peers make little protest if their work is set at naught. And beyond this, Conservatives, Liberals and moderate Labourites alike dread the thought of a single chamber parliament in the hands of a runaway Marxist majority, as slender perhaps as today's.

All this is why, despite the threats and postures, Prime Minister James Callaghan is highly unlikely to do anything about the peers. He knows it would not make the election issue in his favor that the extreme left likes to imagine. The Lords could turn out to be the people's darlings.

Not that Mrs. Thatcher wants to hurry an election along. The British winter has got into its damp, chilly stride. Campaigning before spring would not be popular. Furthermore, Mrs. T. wants Labour to suffer a lot more. She doesn't see why the socialists shouldn't have to carry in full the odium of the economic woes that their own policies have brought about. She hopes this will have the effect both of splitting the Labour party (by driving out the Marxist maniacs), and of breaking the hearts of the trade unions — which will then be prepared to cooperate with a Tory government, Mrs. Thatcher, if not sterling, can afford to wait.

In any case, the heady days of one or two-vote majorities and dead heats may not last much longer. It is not a game which both sides can play for long. The Commons are going to

# COMMENTARY

## Japan's break with tradition

By Russell Brines

Japan has been propelled by the Lockheed bribery scandal into a new historical period, as well as into a major political crisis. The outcome of it is the support of the Scottish Welsh nationalists. But here is a totally a-charged issue whose outcome is hard to predict.

Perhaps the oddest performance of Mr. Enoch Powell, supposedly an Ulster Unionist (and therefore Conservative ally), who has put out an unmade speech to the press saying that the interests of the United Kingdom would be best served if Labour stayed in power "for some time yet."

What Mr. Powell seemed to be saying is that, in a vote of confidence such as might precipitate a General Election, he would vote for the government.

Mr. Powell's reasons appeared to be largely aimed at punishing the Conservative Party for failing to promote him as he thinks it deserves. Specifically, he says he does not think the Tories can cope with the present crisis and in spite of having endorsed the Treaty of Rome, Labour (he thinks) is still anti-Commons Market at heart. As always with Mr. Powell, the speech was beautifully written. But once again, he was more beneath the surface than met the eye.

Prime Minister Takeo Miki has pursued the investigation vigorously, despite strong intra-party pressures to let it follow the usual course and die. He may yet be deposed by party rivals for this reason, if he is not eased out of office through a power play. But already he has set a precedent of major political significance, in the context of Japanese history and tradition.

Like all Asian nations and most other non-European countries, Japan evolved a modern political system with built-in bureaucratic bribery. This was tolerated because government salaries were too low for survival. The system continues to flourish, particularly in countries where officials have the least regard for their powerless citizens.

From this base, Japan developed a separate code of bribery. The alliance between the bureaucracy and criminal gangsters was so strong during the prewar years, for example, that a telephone could be obtained in Tokyo only by paying an outrageous price to a criminal gang. The gangsters bought up all the numbers after the earthquake in 1923 knocked out the city's system, and their political influence was strong enough to prevent any enlargement of the re-established telephone exchange for the next twenty-three years, even though Tokyo's population tripled.

One vigorous press and strong public pressures have created a number of political crises over governmental bribery during the postwar period. In each case, the pressures were strong enough to give a faction of the Liberal Democratic Party the power to force a prime minister to resign and yield rule to the successful faction. These were merely political quarrels.

The scandals died with the change in the prime minister, for neither the government nor the party took the initiative to investigate farther or to punish malefactors.

Sooner or later, the governmental system itself had to take the next step — into direct government accountability. This is what Prime Minister Miki has done.

The essence of a democratic government is its willingness and capacity to punish the law-breaking in its ranks; law-breaking which may be inescapable as long as officials are as human as everyone else. In that sense, America's Watergate was a triumph, not a tragedy. In that sense, too, the Lockheed scandal has become Japan's Watergate.

The lesson radicals everywhere should draw is that we are well placed in the Fourth Law of EP, which is that the only way to give value is to give value for money.

If that seems too philosophical, let us consider to initiate food rationing within Japan in perhaps it could be put another way:

Nobody can get twice as much into or out of a pint pot by altering the label to read the Quart.

Mr. Brines is a free-lance writer on foreign affairs.

## To Peking: from Russia with love

By Konrad Smirnov

The following is written by a political correspondent of the Soviet news agency Novosti and was supplied by that agency.

If China really starts expanding its economic contacts with foreign countries, including the socialist countries, then this economic cooperation will prove to be a success.

Political improvements would doubtless facilitate the development of mutually beneficial relations between China and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is ready at any moment to start constructive negotiations with Peking, believing that any problem can be solved provided there is goodwill and a desire to normalize relations between the two countries.

Now, when the 110th anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth is celebrated, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China should heed his wishes, especially since it now seems most unnatural that the friendly relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China have been disrupted for so long. There is no doubt that reestablishment of a good-neighbor policy will further the expansion and development of mutual ties and the observance by both sides of full equality.

In his testament Dr. Sun Yat-sen spoke of a new and powerful China that would play a positive role in international affairs. In 1949, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, opportunities appeared for China to move rapidly forward to this goal, relying on its own resources and on the help of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

The events of the past decade held back that process, and it was not until January, 1975, that Chou En-lai stressed, at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress, the task of transforming China into an economically developed socialist country. His speech contained the thesis that the Chinese side was for a normalization of inter-state relations between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China and for expansion of China's foreign economic ties.

The Chinese side would continue in its belief that differences on matters of principle between China and the Soviet Union should not interfere with normal state relations between the two countries; and would support and develop interstate relations on the basis of these principles — mutual respect, sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual nonaggression, non-interference in internal affairs; equality, mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. The message further stated that this would be in the interest of both nations.

The world's public has every reason to believe that the readiness of the Soviet Union to normalize relations is also shared by China and hopes that the restoration of Soviet-Chinese relations will allow the Soviet and Chinese peoples to live as good friends and to cooperate for the benefit of peace and progress throughout the world.

## No free lunch in Britain

By John Allan May

of such a licence is universally established. It is inflation.

Therefore, according to the Second Law of EP, "In the last analysis the state never pays."

Every lunch has to be paid for by somebody. By you, or the person next door. If there's nobody to pay we have to wash the dishes.

It is not only Great Britain that is finding this out. There's Italy, Chile, Brazil, and even Sweden to name but a few others.

However, the British case is the one most stark in the news these days. So perhaps we should stick to it as our example.

Besides ignoring the basic laws of EP, socialist in Britain's Labour movement have ignored a central theme in the philosophy of Karl Marx (whom otherwise they venerate). That theme is: "Only work produces wealth."

The First Law of EP, I would suggest, is this: "There's no such thing as a free lunch."

British Labour's economists have worked out their plans on quite a different basis — that every lunch can be free if the state pays for it.

According to the Second Law of EP this belief is unsound. For the state has no money but what it can take or attract from the citizen or can borrow abroad. Nor does it have an open licence to print money of its own, for the cost

The belief in spending does not encompass private spending, which is held by Labour to be bad. Hence the very high rate of personal taxation in Britain. For some reason — or no reason — the benefits of spending are held to accrue only to governments.

But as we have seen, in the last analysis governments never actually pay for anything. So that government spending is only private spending redirected into channels the private citizen would not choose. There may be nothing intrinsically wrong in that. But it happens that the spending is often redirected into channels that do not produce marketable wealth. The people who keep those channels open are well paid, naturally enough. But since they are not producing goods or services that can be bought and sold it is very easy for the national income to get out of balance. Beyond a certain point too much income may then be chasing too few goods.

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The assertion is not altogether true. But how much better things would be now in Britain if the Labour movement had believed in it! Instead the cry has grown "Only government spending produces wealth."

Now, when the 110th anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth is celebrated, the alliance between the bureaucracy and criminal gangsters was so strong during the prewar years, for example, that a telephone could be obtained in Tokyo only by paying an outrageous price to a criminal gang.

The gangsters bought up all the numbers after the earthquake in 1923 knocked out the city's system, and their political influence was strong enough to prevent any enlargement of the re-established telephone exchange for the next twenty-three years, even though Tokyo's population tripled.

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Mr. May is a long-time observer of British affairs.

## What makes Yugoslavia a special case?

By Walter C. Clemens Jr.

assistance to Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956.

Chastened by charges that the U.S. had instigated the Hungarians, Dean Rusk made it clear in 1968 that Washington would not fight if Moscow decided to repress Czechoslovakia's attempt to build a socialist society in its own way. Instead, Yugoslavia is a special case. Tito's forces liberated most of the country from German occupation so that the country has never been occupied by the Red Army.

After years of blind loyalty to Moscow, Yugoslavia's Communists broke from Soviet discipline in 1968 and established the model for an independent road to socialism now emulated by some other East and West European communist parties. After initial disbelief that Tito's split was genuine, Washington backed it with military and economic assistance that has continued for almost thirty years.

Though the Truman Doctrine introduced a U.S. presence in Turkey, Greece, and Turkey in 1947, history showed that Washington would not intervene militarily when Moscow exerted military force to maintain its hold on Eastern Europe. The United States would offer "moral support," but not "military assistance" to East Germany, hunting Soviet tanks in 1953. John Foster Dulles and Radio Free Europe offered moral encouragement but not material

backing this moral act with military might. They embarked on the creation of a nationwide militia. Similar in spirit to the Minutemen who fought British invaders, County against Neighbors, the Yugoslav forces is even more like the militia which Switzerland has perfected since the Middle Ages. Like Switzerland, Yugoslavia

All these factors support Mr. Carter's conclusion: there is little prospect of overt Soviet intervention against Yugoslavia. The possible gains from a Soviet takeover are, of course, outweighed by the risks. Not only would Moscow face a protracted guerrilla war in Yugoslavia but the chance of resistance in Romania and the border republics such as Moldavia and the Ukraine. Soviet interference would scuttle delicate and cool ties with Turkey, now the semi-one recipient of Soviet economic aid. So far, Soviet troops have never been able to conduct maneuvers in Yugoslavia, as they did in Czechoslovakia, and they could not justify intervening by invoking the Warsaw Pact, since Yugoslavia is not a member.

The best hope for democracy and prosperity in Eastern Europe lies in the slow accretion of cultural and economic ties with the West. Decentralization and greater trade need time to work changes in the political sphere.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia provides a dramatic example of the benefits of self-reliance in world affairs, buttressed by marginal assistance from the West. Yugoslavia's defense budget is almost three times Romania's, despite a smaller GNP.

Might Yugoslavia fall apart from internal divisions? Experts believe that the central government can count on the regular army and the militia to contain any separatist movement, even after Tito. Though separatist tendencies are strong among intellectuals and other social groups in Croatia, they seem to have little mass support. Unlike Slovakia, which served as a springboard for Nazi and Soviet actions against Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1968, Croatia occupies an advantageous position in the Yugoslav federation. With Slovenia, Croatia has the highest per capita income within Yugoslavia. And Croatia holds a plurality of top posts in the government and the army.

government protest parade. This would indicate about 4 percent in a state with over 30 percent Catholic population.

As an inmate of a penal institution, I feel that Mr. Harsch has always been fair to all concerned and fully sympathetic with the justifications suffered by the native Irish in the North. Furthermore, I have never found the Monitor to exhibit a double standard in this matter. No other paper in this area has as good coverage of Ireland, be it the 26 counties of the Republic or the 6 counties of Northern Ireland. Infallibly I have found the Monitor to be fair and understanding.

I believe the thrust of Jonathan Harsch's article was to appraise the survival of industry in Ulster torn with civil strife, while not in any way supporting or encouraging hiring prejudice. He has strongly supported civil rights in the North, and I am sure, will continue to condemn job discrimination complained of by Mr. McLoughlin and so vividly described in Leon Uris's "Trinity."

Thomas M. Downes

Mary Harding

Under J. J.

I seemed to me that Michael McLoughlin's letter criticizing Jonathan Harsch's article on Northern Ireland firms was not fair to Mr. Harsch. Neither Mr. Harsch nor anyone else will deny that there has been gross job discrimination in Ulster and most notably in the Harland and Wolff Shipyard. In fact I read an article by Mr. Harsch during the United Ulster Coalition strike in which he mentioned about 300 (invisibly) Catholics being forced to march with their fellow unionists in an anti-

India, it troubled me a lot, being an Indian. Why she took this action was a big question. On my last visit back home I found out that the changes that are taking place are for the better: i.e. through the emergency the unity of the nation is preserved.

Diplomatic relations with China have been restored. Today, India's neighbors are friendly; there are no hostilities, no border skirmishes going on. Government services have improved to a greater degree. Educational facilities are better than before. No students' disturbances on the campuses. Dutly comes before the right.

What's what the change required. We always wanted a strong leader in India, and we have one now.

It may seem absurd to Western people, but to me Mrs. Gandhi is the Lincoln of India. Acting under the emergency powers, President Lincoln had ordered arrests of thousands of people. The press was suppressed — some papers were stopped from being published. The Supreme Court supported or interpreted his actions as legal. He did what he thought necessary. People then had the same questions as we have against Mrs. Gandhi: i.e. was all criticism of government forbidden? Had people lost cherished rights of speech?

Elan, Ill.

Harinderpal Singh

We invite readers' letters for